

ADMISSION OF NEAR EAST REFUGEES

HEARINGS

BEFORE

THE COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SIXTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

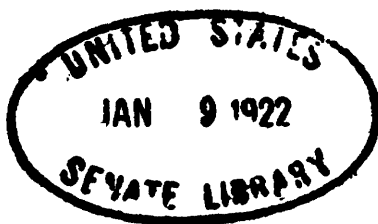
FOURTH SESSION

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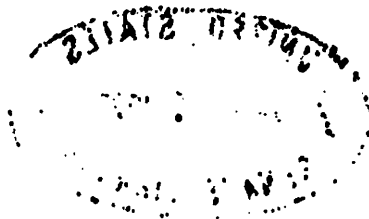
H. R. 13269

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COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIXTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS.

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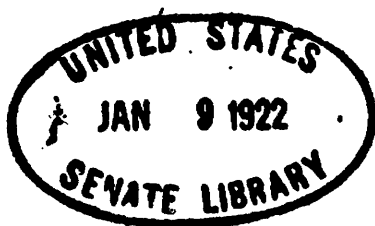
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II





ADMISSION OF NEAR EAST REFUGEES.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, December 15, 1922.

(The committee this day met, Hon. Albert Johnson, chairman, presiding.)

Present: Congressmen Johnson (chairman), Vaile, White, Maloney, Cable, Raker, and Box.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

Gentlemen, we have before us H. R. 13269, a bill presented by Mr. White of Kansas, a member of this committee, which bill is as follows:

[H. R. 13269, Sixty-seventh Congress, fourth session.]

A BILL To permit the admission into the United States of refugees from Turkish territories,

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That when used in this act the term—

(1) "Refugee" shall mean any person who has fled from his home since the 1st of October, 1921, and was resident, prior to fleeing from his home in (a) the territory belonging to Turkey as defined by the treaty of Sevres, or (b) other territory occupied by Turkish military or civil authorities since October, 1920.

(2) "Relative" shall mean a husband, wife, parent, grandparent, brother or sister, child, grandchild, orphan niece or nephew, aunt or uncle by blood.

(3) The singular shall include the plural and the masculine shall include the feminine.

Sec. 2. That any person resident within the United States who is either a citizen of the United States or who has made application for citizenship may petition the Commissioner General of Immigration for the admission into the United States of any relative who is a refugee.

Sec. 3. (1) That the petition for admission must contain: (a) The name and address of the petitioner; (b) If a citizen, the date and place of his admission to citizenship, and number of certificate, or if a declarant the date and place of his declaration of intention and number of declaration; (c) the name and address of his employer or the address of his place of business or occupation if he is not an employee; (d) the degree of relationship of the person from whom the application is made, and the name of the place where such person was resident prior to fleeing from his home, and the place where such person is seeking shelter at the time the application is made, if known to him; (e) a statement that he is able to and will support the person for whose admission the application is made, so that he shall not become a public charge; (f) a statement that the person for whose admission the application is made is homeless at the time of making the application, to his best information and belief.

(2) The petition must be made under oath before any person having the power to administer oaths and must be supported by any documentary evidence required by regulations issued under this act.

(3) Application may be made in the same petition for admission of more than one person.

Sec. 4. That the petition must be accompanied by the statements of two responsible citizens of the United States, to whom the petitioner is known, that to the best of their knowledge and belief the statements made in the petition

are true and that the petitioner is a responsible person, able to support the refugee or refugees for whose admission application is made. These statements must be attested in the same way as the petition.

SEC. 5. (1) That on the receipt of any petition, the Commissioner General of Immigration shall make such inquiries as to him may seem necessary, either in the United States or in any foreign country, to establish the truth of the statements made in the petition or in the accompanying statements.

(2) Any consul or consular officer of the United States shall give such aid to the Commissioner General of Immigration in carrying out this act as his other duties permit.

(3) The clerk of any district court in the United States shall give such aid to the Commissioner General of Immigration, in carrying out this section, by making such inquiries or taking such depositions within the judicial district of his court as his other duties permit.

SEC. 6. That there shall be received as evidence of the residence of a refugee: (a) An extract from any birth registry kept by a civil or ecclesiastical authority or any official registry certifying to the fact of his residence; (b) the official statements of an agent of any corporation organized for philanthropic purposes under the laws of the United States or any State thereof engaged in the relief of refugees and affiliated with any committee appointed by the President for Near East relief, if the agent is delegated by his organization for the purpose.

SEC. 7. That if the Commissioner General of Immigration shall find the facts stated in the petition to be true the refugees named in the petition shall be admitted to the United States, except that in case of an uncle or aunt by blood the Commissioner General may, in his discretion, refuse admission if he believes that the refugee can be provided for elsewhere than in the United States.

SEC. 8. That any refugee who has been permitted by the immigration authorities of the United States to land temporarily shall be finally admitted if a petition be filed and approved as provided herein in respect to such alien.

SEC. 9. That refugees whose admission is authorized under this act shall be admitted, subject to the immigration laws of the United States, except that the act approved May 10, 1921, entitled "An act to limit the immigration of aliens into the United States," shall not be applied to them, and they shall not be included in estimating the quota established under such act of alien immigrants of the nationality to which they belong who may be admitted to the United States.

SEC. 10. That the Commissioner General of Immigration, with the approval of the Secretary of Labor, shall prescribe rules and regulations necessary to carry this act into effect.

SEC. 11. That any person who knowingly and fraudulently aids in any way to secure the admission under this act of a refugee not properly admissible under it shall be punished by a fine not exceeding \$1,000 or by imprisonment for a term of not exceeding one year, or both.

SEC. 12. That this act shall take effect upon its enactment and shall continue in force till June 30, 1924, but no refugee shall be admitted under its terms after June 30, 1924, except those for whose admission petition has been filed previous to that date.

SEC. 13. That this act may be cited as the Near East refugee act of 1922.

Now, Mr. White, do you want to make a statement as to the presentation of the bill?

MR. WHITE. Mr. Chairman. I did propose to call the attention of the committee to the similarity of the provisions of this act as compared with those of the committee bill which passed the House on the 13th day of December, 1920, and it would take me some little time—not a great length of time—to present my argument for the bill, and I thought that if it is agreeable to the committee it might probably be the best procedure for the witnesses who are here to be heard with regard to the emergency.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I take it that every member of this committee will have something to say on this bill. It is a very important piece of emergency legislation, and it will give rise to a good many questions as to the permanent policy of the Government; and while the legislation is purely emergency legislation in its character and purpose, it is quite similar to legislation that has already passed the House since the adoption of our present law, and that it

was made necessary on account of the inflexible elements of that law is a fact which I think is generally recognized. At the same time, if it is agreeable to the committee, I think it would facilitate the consideration of the bill if the witnesses would confine their statements to the development of the present emergency to a statement of the facts. Those can be made a matter of record; and then we can take up the argument, because it will have to be taken up subsequently anyway.

The CHAIRMAN. How much evidence do you think is necessary to show that a great number of people throughout the world are homeless without detailing that a large number are homeless and are refugees in Greece and contiguous territory and in Turkey, as outlined in this particular bill. Could not we do that in five minutes?

Mr. WHITE. I think that may be set forth in a very few short statements. There can be no doubt in the minds of the committee as to the emergency which inspires the introduction of this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. When you referred to a bill which passed the House on some date in 1920 did you refer to the relief bill?

Mr. WHITE. No. I referred to the law—to the committee bill which passed the House on that day—which was made the basis for the admission of aliens. That was known as the relative bill.

The CHAIRMAN. That bill did not apply to refugees?

Mr. WHITE. No. It is not my purpose to discuss that now, but it will be discussed in the committee. I know this committee pretty well, and I think that to a reasonable degree it reflects the sentiment of the country on the subject of immigration.

The CHAIRMAN. That bill died an ignoble death.

Mr. WHITE. But that bill had the approval of this committee, and my recollection is that the report was unanimous and that it represented the sentiment of this committee, and this committee always is in close touch with the sentiment of the country.

Mr. BOX. I understand that Mr. White, our colleague on the committee, wants to present this matter fully at a time when there will not be a lot of waiting witnesses, and I think he is entitled to that consideration, and therefore I will move you that we now hear such testimony as we are going to hear and that we grant him full time to present his bill on a subsequent day, or even to-day if we have time.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. White, we will hear any witnesses who are ready.

I have replied to several applicants who wish to appear as witnesses that we could hold hearings any day on sufficient notice, and, as I have tried twice already to set dates for these witnesses, I would like to notify all those who are concerned that as the holidays approach it is more and more likely that we will have a light attendance, and the point will soon be reached where, if they desire hearings of any length, they will have to go over until after the holidays.

Mr. RAKER. Is that the plan for the tailors?

The CHAIRMAN. The tailors were due to-day. We have a telegram, which I will also put in the record, saying that they want to have a hearing later next week, and I have notified them that they will be heard after the holidays.

Whom do you desire to be heard first?

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Theodore Bortoli.

STATEMENT OF MR. THEODORE BORTOLI, 11 GRAMERCY PARK, NEW YORK CITY.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been in the United States, Mr. Bortoli?

Mr. BORTOLI. Three weeks on the 20th of November.

The CHAIRMAN. Three weeks?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How were you admitted?

Mr. BORTOLI. On bond for a year.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

Mr. BORTOLI. In Boston.

The CHAIRMAN. Through Boston?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much was your bond?

Mr. BORTOLI. Five hundred dollars.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you take that method?

Mr. BORTOLI. Oh, I was told I would have to make application to remain or else I would have to go.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, you think that you can renew the bond at the end of the year?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of a bond was it—cash?

Mr. BORTOLI. No; it was a bond on parole.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not pay any money at all?

Mr. BORTOLI. No; I do not know how they did it.

The CHAIRMAN. You were admitted on your own recognizance for one year?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you then proceed to take out first papers?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir; immediately.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

Mr. BORTOLI. In Boston.

The CHAIRMAN. To whom did you apply?

Mr. BORTOLI. To a district court, to the clerk of the court.

Mr. Box. At Boston?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So you are temporarily in the United States under bond and have your first papers?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your purpose here?

Mr. BORTOLI. My purpose in coming to America was, first of all, to thank her for the relief and for the work which she did in Smyrna in the disaster there, during the massacre and during the fire.

I am from Smyrna myself, and I have suffered. I have lost my mother and two sisters, and the only relative left to me is a brother, and he is insane.

Mr. Box. When did he become insane?

Mr. BORTOLI. He became insane after the disaster. America has been the only country to help Smyrna. In 1922 America helped 370,000 refugees and most of those refugees have been brought to Greece, to Athens and to the Islands, including the Island of Mityline, which has 45,000 population and over 192,000 refugees.

Now, if help is not brought to these refugees on this island and other islands they will die. They are dying every day.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of those refugees on that particular island does this bill propose to bring into the United States?

Mr. BORTOLI. This bill is proposing only to have those refugees brought in here who have relatives here.

The CHAIRMAN. How many would that be on that one island you spoke of?

Mr. BORTOLI. It would be very difficult to say, because the bill provides that the relatives here will have to make application, but in all I do not think there will be more than 10,000 or 15,000.

The CHAIRMAN. On that one island?

Mr. BORTOLI. No, sir; I am speaking of the whole number of refugees, taking them altogether.

The CHAIRMAN. What will happen to the rest of them?

Mr. BORTOLI. As to the rest of them, I am taking the matter up with different South American countries.

The CHAIRMAN. Never mind him now. This bill proposes that the person arrives here and on taking out first papers may then make application to bring his relatives?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Does not that mean an endless chain proposition?

Mr. BORTOLI. No. It means that those persons who are bringing them here will have to support them. Those people are established in America and they will have to guarantee that those refugees will not become a public charge on the country.

Mr. JOHNSON. Relatives are pretty likely to do that anyway, are they not?

Mr. BORTOLI. No, sir; because those persons who come and make application are subject to penalty for making false statements. If you will allow me to say so, I do not believe that under such circumstances as these men are liable to make any false declarations.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you born, Mr. Bortoli?

Mr. BORTOLI. In Smyrna, Asia Minor, of Italian parents, my father and mother being Italians.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your occupation?

Mr. BORTOLI. Carpet and rug manufacturer.

The CHAIRMAN. How old are you, Mr. Bortoli?

Mr. BORTOLI. Twenty-seven years.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a carpet factory here?

Mr. BORTOLI. No. I have a depot in England, and if conditions warrant I will put up a factory in America.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not open up a factory while temporarily admitted under bond, would you?

Mr. BORTOLI. May I ask where I could go? America has shown herself humane. Would you allow me to go to Italy? I could not go to Italy.

The CHAIRMAN. Why not?

Mr. BORTOLI. For the simple reason that the Italians acted very inhumanly in Smyrna, and the French did exactly the same thing, and maybe worse.

The CHAIRMAN. You have told me in private conversation that you thought there were about 1,100,000 refugees over there?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they all think they can get into the United States?

Mr. BORTOLI. No, sir; and for this purpose I saw the Brazilian ambassador and the chargé d'affaires of Argentina and some other South American countries, to explain the situation and ask them to show themselves to be helpful under these circumstances. Brazil promised me that some refugees would be taken there. Argentina has taken some Russian refugees, and she is a Latin country, and I expect some help from her also. There may be a possibility of things being settled, but I do not believe things can be settled in Turkey. I believe what happened in Turkey will happen at Constantinople.

The CHAIRMAN. There will be a lot of Russian refugees?

Mr. BORTOLI. The Russian refugees, I understand, have been taken care of now, and there are some of them coming to America.

The CHAIRMAN. There are 300,000 refugees in Constantinople who are in danger?

Mr. BORTOLI. Well, those refugees will have to go and settle in Greece.

The CHAIRMAN. They will settle in Greece as the Greeks in Turkey move out?

Mr. BORTOLI. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. That does not help Greece any.

Mr. BORTOLI. That is what I am asking for—to have a place made in Greece to allow other refugees to enter, so that there will not be another disaster.

The CHAIRMAN. If these Russian refugees in Constantinople have relatives in the United States who are either naturalized citizens or have taken out first papers, would not they want to come on to America with those relatives, instead of stopping in Greece?

Mr. BORTOLI. Well, the Russian catastrophe occurred in 1917, and the Russians have had time to make applications.

The CHAIRMAN. A lot of them have not been there more than 18 months. We had hearings on the conditions of the Russians just about a year ago.

Mr. BORTOLI. The catastrophe in Smyrna occurred about three months ago.

The CHAIRMAN. The great catastrophe of Constantinople has not occurred, but it is expected to happen?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir. There is another point on this, Mr. Chairman. Many of those refugees have relatives here who are established. Can you allow a man who is maybe an American citizen to have a sister or a relative who was in that disaster at Smyrna, who, although they may have money can not find a room? Those people are on the streets there. They can not find shelter; they have no place for them. That is the reason why I was trying to have you help just the refugees who have relatives here.

I have only a human interest in this, because I have lost everything and I have nothing further to lose.

Mr. RAKER. But you are going to start a carpet and rug factory here.

Mr. BORTOLI. Well, I do not know, sir.

Mr. Box. What investment did you have in your business?

Mr. BORTOLI. 5,800,000 Turkish pounds.

Mr. Box. What is the value of that in American money?

Mr. BORTOLI. It is a dollar and a half now, but it was \$4.23 before the war. Everything is lost. I do not mind about the money. I have lost what nobody can give back, my relatives.

The CHAIRMAN. This committee can not give them back to you. I am sorry.

Mr. BORTOLI. Certainly not.

The CHAIRMAN. I understood that this man you brought to me the other day, who owns a hotel in Washington and a residence, to say that he had two sisters here and he had other sisters and brothers that he wanted to bring here. Why could not he establish them in any other country that has no restriction or limitations, in an effort to save their lives?

Mr. BORTOLI. How can they go to places where they have no relatives when they have lost the rest of their family and they have their brother here?

The CHAIRMAN. Would not they be content in some other country?

Mr. BORTOLI. How can they live there? That man has lost his mother. You understand the position of those two girls—left there alone.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. You are quite sure you want these people in the United States to have this right the minute they have taken out first papers?

Mr. BORTOLI. Those, at least, who have been established for two years.

The CHAIRMAN. But the bill does not say two years; it says anyone who has taken out first papers.

Mr. WHITE. Would it be permissible for me to inquire at this time, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. JOHNSON. Certainly.

Mr. WHITE. It is perfectly reasonable to assume that those people who are American citizens, naturalized aliens, and those who have declared their intention, would have the means to bring their relatives here, and they are required to give the strictest guaranties for their ability to support them, and those helpless people coming in here could not give such guaranties.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness himself is here under bond, and he is not helpless, but a very bright and brilliant man. He says he has no relatives except an insane brother. Is your brother temporarily insane?

Mr. BORTOLI. I could not make any statement as to that. My last telegram was that he had his arm broken in Smyrna.

Mr. WHITE. Was he a victim of this massacre?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He was not insane before that?

Mr. BORTOLI. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You have reason to hope for his recovery?

Mr. BORTOLI. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. If he does recover, you would want him admitted to the United States?

Mr. BORTOLI. If I am allowed to stay in the United States, I will start a factory, and I will need the help of my brother.

The CHAIRMAN. And then you will find that the law says positively that persons who have had one or more attacks of insanity shall not be admitted.

Mr. BORTOLI. I would not ask for any help.

The CHAIRMAN. But others would, and they do all the time. That is the penalty we pay for laxness in the past and for sympathy in the present.

Mr. BORTOLI. But might I ask if a man could see these people starve? They are dying there in Greece from starvation; they have no food; they have no clothing; they have no blankets. Their relatives may send them money, but the money is no good to them, because they can not find a room or anything.

The CHAIRMAN. Did not the same thing exist in Vienna three years ago?

Mr. BORTOLI. No, not exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. Money there was no good. The same thing existed in all parts of Europe.

Mr. BORTOLI. The exigency was not the same. It was not so bad in Vienna. You could live in Vienna as well as in Paris and London.

The CHAIRMAN. How about Poland? Was it not pretty bad in Poland?

Mr. BORTOLI. I have just recently come from Smyrna, and I knew the particular situation there.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think the United States should have admitted all those refugees who flocked into Danzig?

Mr. BORTOLI. I do not think that is a parallel case.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking for your own opinion. Do you think that the United States should have admitted those people, should have admitted those

refugees from Russia and other places that came into Eastern Europe, that came into Danzig and other seaports; do you think those should have been admitted who have relatives in the United States?

Mr. BORTOLI. They did, as a matter of fact, accept a number of those refugees.

Mr. JOHNSON. The fact that they could only accept a few and that there were so many more that they could not admit led to the passage of the 3 per cent act. That was right in the face of great distress. The greatest distress has not happened yet.

Mr. BORTOLI. Allow me to contradict that. I do not suppose there is a greater distress than the one which has happened in Asia Minor.

The CHAIRMAN. The great numbers do not measure the quantity of distress.

Mr. BORTOLI. Certainly; but the point is what the Germans did during the war in Belgium and in northern France was not a fifth part of what the Turks did in the face of European nations, in Smyrna; and if America had not been there there would not have been a single one left.

The CHAIRMAN. Does not the responsibility for that disaster and the burden for the care of these refugees, in the first place, rest on Greece?

Mr. BORTOLI. Greece is doing everything in her power.

The CHAIRMAN. But the responsibility is with Greece?

Mr. BORTOLI. No, sir. I can state that the greater responsibility comes to the European nations.

The CHAIRMAN. That lets the United States out?

Mr. BORTOLI. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. The next responsibility after that of Greece was that of Great Britain, was it not?

Mr. BORTOLI. I would not make any statement of that kind. The only thing I can state is that France and Italy gave the armies of Kemal the assistance that made the victory possible, and I am an Italian.

The CHAIRMAN. You are what?

Mr. BORTOLI. I am not an Italian now. I am beginning to be an American.

The CHAIRMAN. You are beginning to be an American when you are admitted under bond? You were not born in Italy?

Mr. BORTOLI. I was born in Smyrna of Italian parents; my father and mother were Italians.

The CHAIRMAN. Were your people residents of Turkey?

Mr. BORTOLI. They were resident in Turkey for the last 40 years, but they were born in Italy.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your citizenship?

Mr. BORTOLI. Italian.

Mr. HAKER. I will explain the law of that country. All the boys belong to the country of their father. The residence of their birth counts for nothing, according to their law.

Mr. BORTOLI. There is my passport.

Mr. Box. Have you declared your intention to become a citizen?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been in Italy lately?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir. I landed at Naples, and from Naples I left directly for America. I arrived in Naples at 9 o'clock in the morning on the 21st of October, and I left immediately for Boston, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

The CHAIRMAN. On what vessel?

Mr. BORTOLI. On the steamship *Cretic*.

The CHAIRMAN. Was anything said to you about the quota law before you left?

Mr. BORTOLI. The American consul at Naples was extremely kind, and he told me the Turkish quota was not full and he thought that in September there were three hundred and some to be admitted. The steamship company did not want to give me the tickets to America, but the American consul told me at Naples, and I was recommended to him by Mr. Horton, the American consul who is here in America. I saw him in Washington three or four days ago. He has known me for many years, and he knows that any statement I will make is the truth.

The CHAIRMAN. Had the so-called peaceful revolution occurred in Italy when you were there?

Mr. BORTOLI. The Fascisti movement, you mean?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BORTOLI. Not then; but it was beginning. Of course the troubles in Italy began three years ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think there is anything to the charge that is now made, that the Fascisti Party is desirous that all anarchists and revolutionists and radical Italians shall get out of the new Italy as quickly as possible go to the United States if possible.

Mr. BORTOLI. I do not believe so. First of all, I do not think the Fascisti movement will long exist.

The CHAIRMAN. But in their efforts to exist, if they are antirevolutionary, they want the revolutionists sent out of Italy.

Mr. Box. There are two classes of Fascisti, and one faction is fighting against the other.

Mr. BORTOLI. All that killing has been done by the Fascisti with the approval of the Government, and the Government that needs support from the outside is not the Government for me.

The CHAIRMAN. But the Government which is called upon to support everybody on the outside is the Government for me.

Mr. WHITE. That is an extravagant assumption, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. It looks to me that there is a serious attempt to get this committee to relieve the conditions of all the refugee people of the world.

Mr. WHITE. I do not care to open up a discussion at this time, because it was my intention that the witness should explain the emergency. You have read the bill, and the guarantees provided for are stronger for the protection of American society and the American industrial and economical situation than in any bill that has been recommended and presented to the House. It is stronger than the present law; and I do say it is extravagant to seek to put into the mouth of the witness the proposition that we want by this bill to throw the doors open to the distressed of all the world.

The CHAIRMAN. I know he does not want to do that. He wants us to receive these people first.

Mr. WHITE. These questions of course can be decided in executive session.

The CHAIRMAN. And then we must immediately consider whether there will be offered at some time on the floor of the House a clause which would extend the bill immediately to cover all refugees fleeing from any country on account of religious or political persecutions, and there are other important matters to be discussed.

Mr. WHITE. That can be discussed in executive session. I do not anticipate that those questions can be discussed here during the giving of testimony. I would like to have the witness develop in a short statement the circumstances of the Smyrna massacre. I had handed me by the witness a statement filed with the Secretary of State, and I would be glad if the witness would set forth a brief statement of this situation, such as was contained in that paper, and as the witness remembers the circumstances.

Mr. RAKER. Before you get to that, I would like to ask one question following up the chairman's view. The chairman asked this witness if the people did not want to come to the United States where everybody was protected. He is asking for the refugees from Turkey and actually in Greece to come here. Of course those men would come as all other refugees have.

Mr. WHITE. Certainly.

Mr. RAKER. Bonar Law in England, and our friends in France, as Clemenceau said, want this country to take charge of reparations. So they want us to take the refugees on the one hand and they want us to give the money on the other, and as a matter of fact the whole bunch is after us to give everything we have got.

Mr. WHITE. The gentleman's statement, of course, will bear analysis at the proper time, but I know what it means for this committee to begin wrangling, and with a witness before us I think we should proceed with the testimony and we can take up these questions in executive session.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the witness should learn in his first appearance before the committee something of the difficulties that surround the attempts to perfect and pass a bill designed to relieve certain refugees in any place. This committee had full knowledge of the desperate situation in the Near East more than a year ago, and at that time witnesses told us what was going to occur, and what they told us turned out to be the truth. Now, I would be very glad if you would take the chair, Mr. White, and proceed to examine the witness.

Mr. WHITE. That will not be necessary, Mr. Chairman, but I have a few questions to ask and I want to put before this committee a view of the situation which will enable members of this committee to differentiate between the readjustment growing out of the results of the Great War and the misery therefrom, which is not confined to any country in the world and could not be confined to any countries which were participants in that great struggle, and which are not results of racial antagonisms. But this massacre is distinctly racial and it is only a repetition of what has occurred many times in the past.

Mr. RAKER. Is it not your view that we should first take care of those at home?

Mr. WHITE. Absolutely; but this is a humane question. I wish, Mr. Bortoli, that you would develop in a very brief statement the circumstances of the massacre at Smyrna. I ask you this question for the reason that the distress and the relative degree of it now existing in other countries has been suggested and called to the attention of myself and of the committee through your examination by the chairman. Will you just make a statement of the number of persons involved, and any other facts in connection with this massacre that you deem pertinent?

Mr. BORTOLI. On the 28th of August the Turks started their advance. The catastrophe came 15 days after, by the entry of the Turks into Smyrna. They arrived on the 9th. Half an hour after their entry they took the bishop to the State House, and the Greek bishop was executed and the execution took place 10 minutes after the appearance of the bishop at the State House.

Mr. WHITE. Were there any legal proceedings?

Mr. BORTOLI. They were very legal. The shooting, as a matter of fact, was by a squad, but after the shooting was done the body was attached by the neck to a motor car. They passed a rope around his neck and they fastened the other end to a motor car and drove it through the Turkish quarters and the body of the bishop was cut into pieces by the Turkish infuriated populace.

Before the execution, while he was passing in the car, the Turkish populace wanted to stop the car and with knives and revolvers they surrounded the automobile, but the Turkish officer said that this man was under arrest, that he had been sentenced by the national government and it did not belong to the people or to the officer to punish him; then the Turks retired, and they took the bishop on and the execution took place. They also executed Mr. Tzourouchzoglou.

After this execution things were quiet for two days. We hoped, of course, that nothing else would happen, because in Smyrna we had lived very quietly with the Turks, and at first we thought these Turks were the kind that we had known, but we soon found out that those Turks were not the same ones that we had known, because there is a distinction to be made between the European Turk and the Turk of the interior.

On the second day they started going through the Armenian quarter, visiting houses and rapping on doors. After the first visit there was another squad which passed through firing bullets and massacring the people and setting fire to their houses.

When the Armenians saw these things going on they went to their church, the church of St. Stephano, and the Turks went immediately after them and asked them to surrender. The Armenians refused and said, "We will yield to the Allies, but not to you."

I am sorry to say that the Turks fetched French and Italian officers, and knowing the friendship of the French and Italians for the Turks the poor Armenians thought they were safe and they surrendered.

I can not say the exact number, because for a man who has seen the horrors that I have seen there is no definite recollection; but immediately there were about 60 of them killed, and then the Turks immediately entered into the church and put petroleum in the church and set fire to it, and all the Christians were burned alive.

Mr. WHITE. The balance of the assembly were burned in the church?

Mr. BORTOLI. Absolutely.

Mr. WHITE. Were any of your immediate family involved in that catastrophe?

Mr. BORTOLI. No, sir. We thought the Italians would protect their citizens. That first day I was very near the church and I saw the fire beginning in the church and I saw the flames coming out of the church. I am telling you just what I saw. I heard many more things, but I am just telling you what I saw.

This was from the 11th to the 13th. Then we come to the date of the 13th. On the 13th anyone passing on the streets was stopped and robbed. The Turks

said they wanted gold money, and if the people did not have enough they would kill them.

Mr. WHITE. Those were Turkish soldiers?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir. There is one thing to be said; there were irregulars, but those irregulars were in the minority, and the regular soldiers were in the majority, because for one irregular there were three regulars.

On the 13th, Mr. Horton, the American consul, seeing things going very badly, sought to unite his colony to help. Mr. Horton left Smyrna after doing all he could to unite his whole colony, and America may be thankful to him that only one American was killed. Mr. Horton did his utmost to help. I will have Mr. Horton's statement presented, in which he says he asked the Turks what happened to that man and they first told him he had been released. Mr. Horton sent some one to an officer to ask him to release the man immediately and the Turks said he had been released, and Mr. Horton not being satisfied by the reply sent for an officer and asked where the man was when he was released, and no one knew where he had gone, and they did not want to say that he had been executed.

On the 13th Mr. Horton left at 6 o'clock in the evening. I have thus far stated the little things, but now the big things started. At 2 o'clock on the morning of the 13th—from morning until midnight—the waterfront was filled with refugees; about 500,000 of them.

Mr. WHITE. Those are not just the ones that were resident in the city?

Mr. BORTOLI. Smyrna had a population of about 370,000 alone, and they all fled to Smyrna from the surrounding country.

These pictures show the refugees on the waterfront [producing photographs].

Mr. RAKER. Who took those pictures.

Mr. BORTOLI. The Near East Relief.

Mr. RAKER. Where were the English, French, and Italians during this time?

Mr. BORTOLI. The French and English and Italians had disembarked their marines to protect the refugees as much as they could. We were, as a matter of fact, just in front of the water. We had a line of English, French, Italian, and American marines, but that protection was absolutely nil. The Turks would come in groups and take a child or take a girl and massacre her, and take everything in front of this line; and they were not able to protect them.

Mr. WHITE. I understood you to say they were not able to protect them.

Mr. BORTOLI. They were not able to protect them. They could not stop a Turk when he would come and get a girl from the interior of the crowd. The marines were lined up in front of us, and the Turks would take a girl or a woman from the crowd.

Mr. WHITE. How many marines were there on shore?

Mr. BORTOLI. The French had three battleships, the *Tonkinnott*, *Jean Bard*, and *Edward Guinet*; the English had three ships, the *Iron Duke* and *Curaçao* and another; and the Americans had three little destroyers, the *Edsall*, the *Leafield*, and the *Simpson*. The Italians had the *Constantinople*, the *Solferino*, and the *Venezia*.

Mr. RAKER. All these catastrophes took place with all those countries represented?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. They all stood by and saw those people destroyed?

Mr. BORTOLI. Absolutely.

Mr. RAKER. And gave no assistance?

Mr. BORTOLI. Absolutely. They were unable to give assistance.

Mr. Box. Would the Turks walk past the marines into the crowd and take a girl or woman back with them?

Mr. BORTOLI. Absolutely. The chairman asked me about my brother being insane. I am afraid myself of becoming insane. I saw 15 or 20 girls have their heads cut off as you would cut the neck of a chicken. I do not know how many hundreds fell into the water.

Mr. RAKER. You say the Turks came to the line of the Allies and the American Marines and took these girls and cut their heads off and dumped them into the water?

Mr. BORTOLI. Absolutely; but not in front of the Americans, because where the Americans could, they stopped them. In front of the passport office there was a French nurse and the Turks wanted to abuse her and the American

Marines came there and made a fight with the Turks and that is how that girl saved her life.

Mr. WHITE. Could you state how many American Marines were landed?

Mr. BORTOLI. Maybe over 500.

Mr. RAKER. They could have stopped the whole thing if they had been turned loose.

Mr. BORTOLI. Everybody could have done that.

Mr. RAKER. The American Marines could have stopped the whole business if they had been ordered to do it?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. How many English marines were landed there?

Mr. BORTOLI. Maybe 500.

Mr. RAKER. And how many from the French ships?

Mr. BORTOLI. The French had less.

Mr. MALONEY. Did they have a hundred?

Mr. BORTOLI. They had about 400.

Mr. MALONEY. How about the Italians?

Mr. BORTOLI. They had heaps of hundreds.

Mr. MALONEY. Were there any Norwegians?

Mr. BORTOLI. No; only Dutch.

Mr. MALONEY. Did the Dutch land any?

Mr. BORTOLI. They landed some to protect their consul, I believe.

Mr. RAKER. Is it possible that these nations deliberately saw these people destroyed?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir. They saw the destruction of the town. They had no orders and they did not want to make a fight.

Mr. WHITE. The international purpose was to protect the nationals of their own country?

Mr. BORTOLI. Absolutely; and they had no instructions to do anything else for others. I can even give the name of a soldier who was kept from helping some one. He was an Italian, and started to help some one and he was immediately stopped by his officer.

That is what happened in Smyrna.

Mr. RAKER. That rather raised your estimation of the Italians?

Mr. BORTOLI. That is why I am ashamed of the country, for not having done anything. They did only protect their nationals and no one else.

Mr. CADLE. Were they all Greeks that were killed?

Mr. BORTOLI. No, sir; many Armenians. From the families of Smyrna there is not maybe a single family where there will not be a brother or a sister or a father or a mother who was killed.

The statement has been made that the Greeks set fire to the city. At 2 o'clock on the morning of the 13th I personally saw Turks in a motor lorry sprinkling petroleum over the cadavers and through the city, and after I little I saw the flames going up from one part of the waterfront to another. Those were Turks sprinkling the petroleum. I am only telling you what I saw and what I know. I will not say any lie; I am only here to tell the truth and to ask you for admission of those refugees.

Outside of the destruction of Smyrna—while the nations were represented there, they could not assist, but they could have avoided the massacres that were going on outside of Smyrna. On the 14th in the morning when I saw there was a possibility of taking my mother to the passport office, and I sought to embark her, I do not know whether the Turks fired on me or my mother or anybody else, but the fact is that they struck her in the head and she died.

My sisters lived in Boudja and I tried to get them, and a more horrible thing was in store for me. I went to the house where my sisters lived and when I went in I found my sisters lying dead with their revolvers beside them.

Mr. WHITE. In other words they killed themselves to escape dishonor?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir; that is what I understood also. That was told me by my servant. The servant finally went to escape and he was in the front part of the house, and when my sisters shot themselves the Turks robbed everything, as they did in the case of the American consulate.

Mr. RAKER. You say they robbed the American consulate?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir; Mr. Horton has lost more than \$25,000. They robbed his house. You could not leave Smyrna with a pair of shoes. I left Smyrna without a shirt.

Mr. RAKER. How about the English and French and Italians?

Mr. BORTOLI. They just had to escape. The English had to be excused because the Turks hated the English and if they saw an Englishman in Smyrna he was killed immediately.

But the French and Italians were to blame. They were on such good terms with Kemal that they could have avoided everything, and if any warship had fired two warning shots it would have stopped everything.

Mr. RAKER. They were quite incensed at the British?

Mr. BORTOLI. Absolutely; they had such a rage against the English.

Mr. RAKER. Were any English killed?

Mr. BORTOLI. Oh, many of them, over 130; and I may state that the Turks went to the British consulate and they did not find the consul, but they took the man who was employed there and he was immediately killed, and they also found the watchmen of the consulate and took them out and killed them and in their dead hands placed two Turkish flags.

Mr. WHITE. Not desiring to disturb your statement, I want to ask you at this point one question. Can you state the probable number of English refugees who fled from Smyrna?

Mr. BORTOLI. I could not state. The English knew perfectly well that they were not safe, and the British consul gave advice to the English to flee away, and as soon as they could get to a boat all of them went.

Mr. WHITE. Those found refuge in England?

Mr. BORTOLI. In England and in Malta.

The CHAIRMAN. And Malta is the place that the people insist we should open the doors to so that they can get to the United States?

Mr. BORTOLI. The refugees are in all of those islands.

Mr. RAKER. The Turks got there on what date?

Mr. BORTOLI. On the 9th of September.

Mr. RAKER. And the English gave word to their people when?

Mr. BORTOLI. On the 7th of September.

Mr. RAKER. Even before the Turks arrived, they got out?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. And even after they did get out the English consulate was robbed?

Mr. BORTOLI. Absolutely.

Mr. RAKER. The English people were killed with English vessels in the harbor, and 300 to 500 marines landed on the water front as you have described?

Mr. BORTOLI. Absolutely.

Mr. RAKER. You say there was better feeling between the French and the Italians and the Turks than between the Turks and the English?

Mr. BORTOLI. Absolutely.

(Thereupon the committee adjourned.)

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, December 16, 1922.

The committee met this day, Hon. Albert Johnson (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order. Yesterday we heard Mr. Bortoli and agreed to hear several others.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman. Mr. Bortoli tells me that he would like to use about 5 or 10 minutes more of the committee's time.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we will hear him. We will give him all of the time that he needs.

In order that the conditions may be a little better understood, we have placed here on the wall a War College map of Europe and Asia Minor, and Mr. Bortoli has left with me a series of maps in an English publication entitled "The Question of Thrace." That will be before the committee, and it may be well to place some of these maps in the hearings.

We received a telegram this morning which I would like to read.

NEW YORK, N. Y., *December 15, 1922.*

ALBERT JOHNSON,

*Chairman Immigration Committee,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:*

Earnestly hope favorable action on bill S. 4002, introduced by Mr. White, of Kansas. Have never known a temporary measure having stronger justification than has this bill.

H. A. HATCH.

That bill was introduced by Mr. White as H. R. 13269.

Mr. Stoddard, the author of several books on this subject which have attracted a good deal of attention recently, is present, and I would like to have him heard for a few minutes. If there is no objection, we will hear Mr. Stoddard. Just give your name and address.

STATEMENT OF MR. LOTHROP STODDARD, 1768 BEACON STREET, BROOKLINE, MASS.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the title of the books which you have written?

Mr. STODDARD. The three best known are *The Rising Tide of Color Against White Supremacy*, *The New World of Islam*, and *Revolt Against Civilization*.

The CHAIRMAN. In your preparation of these books you were obliged to become familiar with this Asia Minor country.

Mr. STODDARD. Yes, sir; I made a very long study of the Near East, and I may say that the second book, *The New World of Islam*, has not only done well in this country, but it has attracted a great deal of attention in England. It is at this time appearing in a French translation, and has also attracted considerable attention in Asia Minor, and is being translated in two languages the Arabic and the Urdu.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you prepared to make a statement to the committee with regard to this appeal for the relief of the refugees from Turkey?

Mr. STODDARD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We would like to hear you.

Mr. STODDARD. I think it is important for us to understand the national character of the minority of the people who compose these refugees.

The majority of these refugees come from the coastal districts of Asia Minor and adjacent regions. These people form a part of the population which is found in most of the coastal districts of the entire Mediterranean Basin, especially the towns and cities.

They are known normally, broadly spoken of as the Levantines.

These Levantines are the result of an extraordinary racial mixture which has been going on for at least 2,500 years. They have certain characteristics which are recognizable, not only in modern times, but in ancient times, and these characteristics, many of them, are extremely undesirable.

For one thing, they are very largely a parasitic population, living by their wits, by unproductive means of labor, by petty trading, by graft, and by similar equivocal methods.

Wherever they have gone in great numbers they have exercised a very baneful influence on whatever country they have entered. If you will go back to Roman history and read the Roman writers, in the latter days of the Republic and the early days of the Empire, you will find the Latin literature filled with the wallings against the influences of the Levantines in Rome; the destruction of standards, of ideals, and various destructive religious and other ideas, which were brought in by these people. In the latter days of the Empire they swarmed over the western provinces and did a great deal of damage. It is as I say, this Levantine strain which is now seeking admission in such great numbers to this country, and it would be, in my opinion, a great mistake if large numbers of these people were admitted.

Mr. WHITE. Would you care to interrupted at that point?

Mr. STODDARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. Would you classify them as inferior to the Turks that rule that country, or would you care to make that statement?

Mr. STODDARD. Well, it depends upon what you mean by "inferior."

Mr. WHITE. Well, with regard to their business and ethics.

Mr. STODDARD. Well, the Turk is not a business man, it is true. You must remember that he has particularly no business aptitude. The Turk is an agriculturist or a landowner. He has never engaged in business to any great extent.

The CHAIRMAN. It has not been the policy of this committee to undertake to say that one race is inferior to another. That is not the point. The point we are trying to arrive at is with regard to the various people coming to this country, whether they are Japanese or Levantines, which are likely to be detrimental to the population of the United States.

Mr. RAKER. But, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Stoddard says that this is a mixed race of people, that is true, isn't it?

Mr. STODDARD. They are thoroughly a mongrel people.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the original melting pot?

Mr. STODDARD. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. I would like to ask the gentleman, Mr. Stoddard, this question: Is, in your judgment, in your opinion, the extreme hatred and demonstrations exhibited by the Turkish Government and the Turkish population toward these people on account of the parasitic qualities to which you have referred, or is it a religious prejudice?

Mr. STODDARD. It is more than that. It is that and more. I was just going to reach that point, if you will allow me to proceed.

Mr. WHITE. Yes; I want it developed.

Mr. STODDARD. Yes, sir; that is an important point. I wish to bring out leading to the second point that I wish to bring out.

This pressure of refugees seeking admission to our country has sometimes been represented as a special and passing phenomenon. In my opinion, it is merely one phase of the process which is likely to continue for a considerable time to come. There is no doubt but that the whole Far East is in a very profound and very dangerous ferment. That thing, in my opinion, is getting more and more acute rather than less so, and I will try to explain why.

In former times, down to about a generation ago, just speaking roughly, these people considered themselves divided mainly in terms of religion. That does not mean that the religious divisions were the only things that divided them, but those divisions, for the most part, were based on the terms of religion. Of course, there were differences due to economic conflicts, to doctrinal and cultural conflicts, and so forth, but all of these divisions are rationalized in terms of religion.

Now, these various groups which were divided, more especially by their religious differences, it is true, got along with a great deal of difficulty. There always has been a great deal of conflict between them.

At the same time history has proved that two or more religions can, with more or less conflict, possibly get along, but States can not coexist in the same territory. Now, however, about a half a century ago, or three-quarters of a century, there came into the East all manner of the western ideas; new ideas, ideas of nationalism, and that idea of nationalism has been taken up by all of these people in a most fanatical way.

Mr. WHITE. You say that that has come in recently?

Mr. STODDARD. Within the last half century. Well, it has really become to be noticeable within 75 years.

Mr. WHITE. Well, my good sir, I want to be polite; but hasn't the history of those people shown that that has been going on for thousands of years—for 4,000 years—in that country?

Mr. STODDARD. No, sir; they had no idea of nationality, as we know it. They had no national idea; no, sir. These people were down to a century ago almost devoid of nationality in our sense of the word; the feeling and the desire to have a nation in the western sense. The only idea of solidarity they had was mainly in terms of religion.

Mr. RAKER. It made no difference from where they came if their religion was all right they were all right?

Mr. STODDARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. I am willing for the statement to go into the record, but I can not believe that at all.

Mr. STODDARD. A hundred years ago all of the peoples of the Balkans considered themselves and spoke of themselves largely as "Greeks." They were under the same ecclesiastical domination, the patriarch at Constantinople, and considered themselves as Greeks, as opposed to the Moslem Turks. It is only within the past century, roughly speaking—of course, there are traces of a national feeling in some of these places earlier than that, but a hundred years ago—a little over a hundred years ago—all of the Balkan people thought of themselves as Greeks, and they were Greek Christians as opposed to the Moslems; and you will find within the past 100 years this western idea of nationality has been grafted on these people.

Mr. WHITE. Just let me ask you a question: I do not want to interrupt the witness for any length of time, but hasn't it been the feeling of the Jewish race, the Hebrew race, and have they not clung to the idea of one nationality as it existed formerly in ancient times, and have they not hoped against despair to have a restoration of that nationality? Haven't they clung to the hope that they would be able to reestablish that nationality, and was not that

what inspired those people to rebel against the authority of Rome, because they wanted to reestablish their nationality?

Mr. STODDARD. No, sir.

Mr. WHITE. Then I have read history wrong, my dear sir.

Mr. STODDARD. They have retained their tribal customs, but the idea of a nation is a modern idea.

Mr. WHITE. I think it is an ancient idea.

Mr. STODDARD. Well, that is a matter of opinion.

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

Mr. STODDARD. Well, I am simply giving my ideas and the ideas of those whom I consider to be the most authoritative students of modern political theories.

Well, to go on, if I may, sir, this idea of nationality has been taken up in a very extraordinary, fanatical sense.

Mr. RAKER. Now, let us look at the map. You said that all of this territory [indicating] was considered to be Greek. Now, that includes Bulgaria, Roumania, and Serbia.

Mr. STODDARD. All of these people all through here [indicating], one hundred years ago, all of these people in these Balkan nations considered themselves to be Greeks in the sense that they were members of the Greek Orthodox Church. That includes the various Balkan countries in Europe [indicating on map] and so on.

Well, now, this idea of nationality has been taken up very fanatically within a century by all of these people in the Near East—in the Balkans and Asiatic Turkey—and it has been blended with the old religious difficulties, and the result has been very great in sharpening antagonisms for this reason, that whereas two or more religions can occupy the same territory at the same time with more or less difficulty, two or more nations can not possibly occupy the same territory any more than three chairs can occupy the same space at the same time. Now, that has had two effects. It has served all of these various fanatic and irreconcilable elements; that has had two effects which have produced and increased hostility and increased trouble, and in the first place, the various minorities, whether they be Christians or Mohammedans, have dreamed of establishing a national state. That national state has been conceived by them in a religious way; and that what ever kind, all of the various territories which in the past have belonged to people of their general faith and persuasion they desire to incorporate and they desire to bring into being a national state in which the people, the inhabitants, should be incorporated in their national entity. Now, that has made them, you see, really irreconcilable opponents of the majority.

The majority, on the other hand, has recognized this fact. They also have desires of concentrating their power and of making a national state in which the minority should be forcibly converted to their religions and culture, etc. Now, you see the irreconcilable consequences which have sprung up. The majorities have found the minorities were dead against them, and the minorities have desired to establish a nation of their own and have dreamed of a national state. That, to my mind, that combined with the interference of the western powers, the great powers of Europe, in using these various elements as their tools, the whole result has been the sharpening of the antagonisms of those people to each other, and has been the cause of increasing the trouble.

I believe that that trouble is going to go on for a considerable space of time. I believe you are going to see that we are going to have more trouble throughout the various regions. I am very sure that we will have more trouble there.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, just what do you mean by the Near East?

Mr. STODDARD. By the Near East, I mean the Balkan Peninsula, and what we know as Asiatic Turkey, and Northern Africa, all of that region in there [indicating on map].

The CHAIRMAN. Including Armenia?

Mr. STODDARD. Yes, sir; and also Egypt.

Mr. RAKER. Was it not to accede to that idea, that they put into operation and created Esthonia, Lithuania, Poland, Yugoslavia, and—

Mr. STODDARD. They have been more or less Balkanized.

The CHAIRMAN. That is getting off of the Near East proposition. Now, we handed that last year.

Mr. RAKER. I might say that I do not want to go into that, but I would like to ask this, if it is not a fact, when the Armenian people were massacred or were otherwise driven out of the territory, when conditions become more favorable, if the most of them have not moved back?

Mr. STODDARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Following out the idea that the Greeks claimed the territory for their nation.

Mr. STODDARD. Yes, sir; they have.

Mr. WHITE. I would like to ask the gentleman a question that is not clear to my mind.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. WHITE. You mentioned this situation in Turkey distinctly different from the situation that exists in western Europe, namely, France, Belgium, Holland, Spain, etc., that this religious intolerance exists there, which does not exist in western Europe. Now, sir, does it not exist in western Europe, but possibly not to the same degree?

Mr. STODDARD. Not to the same degree, and, furthermore, the same condition does not exist here as in western Europe. In western Europe you have a sorting out of the people according to nationalities. Here, on the other hand, these people are indiscriminately mixed up.

Mr. WHITE. Pardon me, but may I ask another question?

Mr. STODDARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. Is not this the situation: Is not this new arrangement of the nations a reestablishment of their ancient nationalities?

Mr. STODDARD. No, sir; I do not consider that that is so. I consider that they have developed a modern nationalistic spirit; it is a development of modern times, if you please. They had their religious and tribal communities, but I consider that the spirit of nationality is essentially a modern thing. It began in western Europe with the Renaissance and has spread to that territory.

Mr. WHITE. Has it not been established along other lines also?

Mr. STODDARD. No, sir; because it was not necessary in the old days.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, gentlemen, it would be very interesting if we could take up the history of civilization in this committee, but the matter before the committee is the admission into the United States of refugees from Turkish territory, and the points that Mr. Stoddard may be able to enlighten us on is what that means and whatever refugees are in the same boat as it is claimed these people are.

Mr. RAKER. Yes; and give some of the reasons why. Tell us the kind of people they are and the attitude of these people and as to whether or not they should be admitted to this country under any circumstances.

The CHAIRMAN. That is exactly it.

Mr. STODDARD. In my opinion, sir, there is going to be a continuance of trouble here, throughout the Near East, not only through eastern Thrace, but that there is going to be trouble in the Balkans; there is going to be trouble in the Levant; there is going to be trouble in the Caucasus, in southern Russia; and I think that there may very well be serious trouble, and there is going to be trouble in Egypt and northern Africa.

Mr. Box. Just roughly, what is the population of the area to which you refer? How many refugees might come from there within the next few years?

Mr. STODDARD. I should say, roughly speaking, the area that I refer to has somewhere between fifty and seventy-five million people, and out of that very likely anywhere from twenty to twenty-five millions will be refugees within the course of a generation, very probably within the next 10 years. There is going to be, in my opinion, a continuance of these troubles, and they are going to be driving out the minorities. There is going to be a pressure and the distribution of these minorities to go to other parts of the world, and a vast proportion of them are going to seek admission to this country.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Chairman, the witness has said that there would probably be twenty-five or thirty millions compelled to leave.

Mr. STODDARD. Might be compelled to leave.

Mr. RAKER. From your knowledge of those people and their institutions, do you think that they would be a desirable addition to our population?

Mr. STODDARD. I would consider them very undesirable. I can conceive of no more undesirable type of immigrants than they would be. That is borne out by their whole history, wherever they have gone, wherever the Levant peoples have gone in any great numbers, from the days of Rome to the present time.

Mr. RAKER. While we might contribute our funds, do what we can to relieve their suffering, and help them, you do not think that we should go so far as to allow them to tear down our very house?

Mr. STODDARD. No, sir; self-preservation is the first law of nature.

Mr. WHITE. Now, Mr. Chairman, I beg your pardon for interrupting.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you explain the terms appearing, from time to time, in the cablegrams from abroad concerning the situation, these two names, Anatolia population and Roumelia?

Mr. STODDARD. The terms "Anatolia" and "Roumelia" are Turkish terms. You see, as soon as the Turks conquered Constantinople they proceeded to divide that territory into two parts, Anatolia being a Turk word meaning east, and Roumelia the word meaning west. You will remember during and after the Roman Empire these people considered themselves as Romans.

It is only since the creating of the national feeling, about a hundred years ago, that they dropped the term "Romans," and adopted the term "Hellenes."

The CHAIRMAN. So that Anatolia means practically everything east of Constantinople, Asia Minor?

Mr. STODDARD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Running clear up to Syria?

Mr. STODDARD. Yes, sir. In that brown section [referring to map].

Mr. WHITE. May I ask the witness, will there be any considerable portion of these refugees that the witness anticipates make up part of the Balkan Provinces?

Mr. STODDARD. Well, of course, that depends upon the course of events.

Mr. WHITE. Well, now, is there anything pointing to that movement that you anticipate?

Mr. STODDARD. Yes, sir; this place [indicating] half of the minority populations of eastern Thrace may pass itself on—

Mr. WHITE. But what I am asking you is Will it affect Rumania, Bulgaria, Rumella, and Czecho-Slovakia and those States?

Mr. RAKER. If I may interrupt, I would like to offer the suggestion that those countries have already used up their quota for the present year. Bulgaria has entirely used up her quota for the current year.

Mr. WHITE. Are these movements on foot now?

Mr. STODDARD. They are moving.

Mr. RAKER. In the same way, Greece has used up her quota. Now, as I understand, Mrs. Leeds, who married this prince, is coming over, and I presume that she will be admitted, notwithstanding the fact that Greece has used up her quota for this year. I suppose that she will get in some way. I say that advisedly.

Mr. WHITE. I would like to ask the witness another question on this point. Is there any pressure from Mohammedans to enter the United States?

Mr. STODDARD. Very few Mohammedans come in.

The CHAIRMAN. The reason being that the laws of the United States prevent the admission of those who preach and practice polygamy, and most true Mohammedans are unable to deny that when they are asked.

Mr. RAKER. The Turks have already exceeded their quota.

The CHAIRMAN. I know, but those are Greeks that were born in Turkey that are coming in. That have taken up their quota. They are Turks, as a result of having been born in Turkey, but the Turks, if they are Mohammedans, can not very well come in unless they deny the faith to which they adhere.

Mr. RAKER. We have had one demonstration of this situation, in one case, where they obtained charge of a city up in Massachusetts, and they took charge, and took the city funds to deport about a thousand Spaniards.

The CHAIRMAN. Not a thousand.

Mr. RAKER. Well, something like that.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, there are Russian refugees in this country. In the Near East, are there not?

Mr. STODDARD. Yes, sir; a great number of them, especially around Constantinople.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, the Russian refugees have come down into this country, across the Black Sea, and have been crowded down into this Levant country?

Mr. STODDARD. Oh, vast numbers of them are there around in here [indicating on map] trying to get out.

Mr. RAKER. But is this Thrace East Thrace?

Mr. STODDARD. East Thrace, this district around Adrianople, and down in there.

Mr. RAKER. Now, that is the territory where the refugees are living in?

Mr. STODDARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. That was originally a part of the territory of the Greeks?

Mr. STODDARD. No, it has not been Greek territory since 1918.

Mr. RAKER. That is what I mean.

Mr. STODDARD. Yes. I will tell you gentlemen why I say, and what I mean by saying, that this large number of the population in there, this vast proportion, are potential refugees.

Now, take Thrace, down in there, during the Balkan War of 1912 and 1913. Those were Turks in there when the Bulgars came in there and they drove them out in vast numbers. I do not know how many, but it must have run into the hundreds of thousands of refugees, who were homeless, penniless, refugees. Many of them drifted over into Asia Minor and many perished.

Then, in 1918, as a result of a second Balkan War, the Turks retook that country and expelled lots of Bulgars.

At the time of the war in 1918, the Greeks came in and expelled the Turks and Bulgars again by the wholesale, and now the Turks are coming back again and the Greeks are being expelled wholesale again.

Now, gentlemen, from that, in that one little piece of territory, I will bet that there are a million people that have been dispossessed in the past 10 years, since 1912.

Mr. Box. You mean in Thrace? In that section?

Mr. STODDARD. In East Thrace, and including West Thrace but I will bet that there have been a million people—of course, many of them have been counted twice over because many of them have come back—but I will bet that a million people have been dispossessed in that small section of the country, this little spot on this great map. [Indicating on map.]

Now gentlemen, that has been going on, continuing for goodness knows how long, so you can easily see how the number of refugees might be swelled into the millions.

Mr. WHITE. Can you state whether the conditions in Russia are liable to swell the number of refugees?

Mr. STODDARD. Well, that depends again. That is an uncertain term. Of course, the Russian revolution has been more, far more, than a political revolution. It has been a social revolution, and the refugees have been those who have fled from the Soviet form of government. Therefore they are hardly in the same class as the political refugees, ordinarily, since they are people who are fleeing from not only a political revolution, but also a social revolution. That was a social revolution. That is why the numbers are so vast, sir.

Mr. WHITE. As a matter of fact, they left Russia in terror of their lives, did they not, very large numbers of them?

Mr. STODDARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. Box. But their government was the predominating factor in that, was it not, Mr. Stoddard?

Mr. STODDARD. Yes, sir; the establishment of the Soviet government.

Mr. RAKER. That would be the same way in Thrace, you think, that if the trouble begins they would be driven out in droves, and that it is purely a question of government.

Mr. STODDARD. Yes, sir; it is a question of government, with various ramifications.

Mr. VAILE. What is the approximate area of Thrace?

Mr. STODDARD. I can not tell you, sir, offhand. I should say that eastern Thrace comprises a small area, perhaps a thousand square miles, or two or three thousand square miles. I can not say offhand, but it is a small area.

The CHAIRMAN. Here it is on this map.

Mr. RAKER. It is a very small area.

Mr. STODDARD. Twenty-five hundred to three thousand square miles, I should say.

Mr. VAILE. About the size of a fair-sized county?

Mr. STODDARD. About the size of Rhode Island.

Mr. RAKER. May I ask you one other question with regard to the condition in Thrace, the Near East, where there has been an intermingling of these people for a long time? From your observation, do they intermarry?

Mr. STODDARD. There is very little intermarriage. The walls separating these people are so high, and they are so thoroughly separated by these walls, that there is practically no intermarriage between the various branches; they are separated from each other to such an extent by these walls that there is practically no intermarriage.

Mr. FREE. Are they so intermingled through the entire territory, so that you could not take these people and classify one territory as Greek and the other as Turk, or Armenian, and are they mixed in their population?

Mr. STODDARD. Well, of course, you have a mixed people. There is a vast mixture. I do not think there has been as much intermarriage in recent times as there has been in the past.

Mr. FREE. I did not mean to refer to the mixture as a result of intermarriage, but I mean in occupation.

Mr. STODDARD. Oh, I see. As I say, they are intermingled all through the territory. You will see perhaps one village of Turks and the next village will be Greeks, and when you get into the towns there will be half a dozen quarters, in which you will find people of different nationalities, and they have different trades, different professions, different callings.

The CHAIRMAN. Something similar to New York?

Mr. STODDARD. Yes, sir; and they keep themselves separate, and as I say, there is a very great antagonism.

Mr. WHITE. There is a great deal of truth in those words, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STODDARD. They preserve their religion, their religious life, and their different customs, and the condition is different from what it is in western Europe. In France and Germany and the western countries in Europe they are an amalgamated national people. They are one great group.

The CHAIRMAN. Similar to what we have in this country?

Mr. STODDARD. I have not seen any great evidence of amalgamation in this country between the older and the newer immigrants.

Mr. WHITE. I am speaking of the western European countries. A Frenchman's descendants here in America, the second generation, are as thoroughly and completely American as the descendants of the Puritans.

Mr. STODDARD. That depends upon the individuals.

Mr. VAILE. And it depends upon what you consider American.

Mr. WHITE. Well, my observation—

Mr. FREE (interrupting). Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a question.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. We will have to suspend with Mr. Stoddard very shortly.

Mr. FREE. I would like to ask one question of Mr. Stoddard. It may be that he has already put it in the record, but I want to get it clear in my mind. I want to ask one question and he can answer.

Mr. STODDARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. FREE. I would like to get a statement from you as to the prevailing religion of, first, the Greeks; and, second, the Armenians. Now, we hear a great deal here about the Armenians, as to their being a Christian people, but what I really want is what really their fundamental religion is.

Mr. STODDARD. I will tell you. Their religion is a form, a very ancient form of Christianity. The Armenians have been considered schismatics ever since early times. I forget when, but I think that it was in the sixth or seventh century, a great church council was held at Constantinople, at which I believe many articles of the Christian faith were laid down. At that time conditions were very disturbed, and the Armenian delegates did not get to the council, and the Armenian people refused to be bound by the church council at which they had not been represented, and, therefore, they have maintained the older form of the Christian faith, as it was before this particular council. So, therefore, it was cut off from communion with the main body of the Christian church, because, of course, at that time the split in the Eastern and Western church had not come about, and from that time the Armenians have been schismatic.

Mr. RAKER. What do you mean that they are schismatic?

Mr. STODDARD. Well, they have not been in communion with the main body of the Christian church, because they stopped at a certain point and did not adopt the articles of faith which were drawn up at this church council.

Mr. FREE. There are Catholic and Protestant Armenians, are there not?

Mr. STODDARD. Yes, sir; but those are recent converts, comparatively recent—in recent times.

The CHAIRMAN. The Armenians came under the domination of Alexander II of Russia, who was later assassinated, did they not?

Mr. STODDARD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I am sorry that we will have to suspend here. We thank you very much. The record will be sent to you for any revision, if you will give your name and address to the clerk.

Mr. Brainerd P. Salmon, the ex-president of the American Chamber of Commerce, at Athens, Greece, is present. We will hear Mr. Salmon.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman, if Mr. Bartoldi could have concluded his statement, so that it might have all appeared consecutively in the record, I think would have been better.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we can print the record so that his statement will appear consecutively.

STATEMENT OF BRAINERD P. SALMON, EX-PRESIDENT AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF ATHENS, GREECE.

Mr. SALMON. Mr. Chairman, if I might be permitted to do so, before proceeding, I would like to ask the committee to let me refer to some statements made by the previous witness. In the use of the term "Levantine," Mr. Stoddard has used the term entirely inaccurately. The term "Levantine" we consider in the Levant refers not to the races who are established in Turkey, such as the Greeks, Syrians, and Armenians, but refers simply to Italians, French, and English, who are living there—and possibly born there, but maintaining the nationality of their parents—and who live there under the protection of a French, British, or Italian passport. I think there is no question about that.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Are there many of those?

Mr. SALMON. Many, but not in proportion to the total number of people living in the Levant. I should say in Smyrna, before the fire, that there were probably 20,000 out of a city of approximately 400,000.

Now, Mr. Stoddard also referred to the people of the Near East who would be brought in under this act as a mongrel race, and then afterwards in his testimony he said that there were no intermarriages between the races of the Near East.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute. As a matter of fact, is it not a matter of history that the whole race in there has developed as a mixed race?

Mr. SALMON. Mr. Chairman, I do not think that history will bear out that statement. The Greek race, in Anatolia, are born Greek and the race has not mixed with other races, and they are descendants of the original stock in that part of the world, and for hundreds of years before, have remained the same.

With reference to the mixture of races referred to, a distinction should be drawn between the Greek of the Byzantine period and the ancient Greek. Between the days of ancient Greece and the time of the Byzantine Empire there had been a certain racial mixture, although authorities differ as to the extent that this affected the pure Greek strain. It is a fact, however, that the Greek of to-day is of the same race as the Greek of the Byzantine Empire and that for 500 years there has been practically no intermarriage with other races.

The CHAIRMAN. You are speaking now not of the Armenians?

Mr. SALMON. The same would apply to the Armenians; yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. I understand that centuries ago that part of the country was overrun by Africans, who took charge of it, intermarried, and left their trace over every part of that country; is that so?

Mr. SALMON. I do not think so, Mr. Raker.

Mr. WHITE. I would like to ask the witness one question, a very brief one: Is it not a fact that even in the time of the predominance of the Persian Empire, and all of those ancient empires, and down through, coming down to the days of the Roman Republic, when those countries were subjugated by the Roman Empire, that all of those races and peoples preserved their spirit of nationality?

Mr. SALMON. I think so; yes, sir. The previous witness also referred to the people who would come under this bill as being parasites, not being producers. I think the facts will bear out the statement that 75 per cent of the industry in Smyrna was in the hands of the Greeks, and that the Turks them-

selves did not control more than 5 or possibly 10 per cent of the industry of that city.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say that, do you mean to say that the Greeks dominate the Levantines also?

Mr. SALMON. I do not; no, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Stoddard stated that what really happened with regard to those people, was that the Turks controlled the general business, but that these other races, other peoples, lived by such things as petty trading.

Mr. SALMON. A very large percentage of the Greeks in Anatolia are agriculturists. A very large percentage of the refugees were driven into the city from the farms. In the cities they are engaged in various industries. They are also traders. The Turk is an agriculturist, unless he can get a job as policeman, a soldier, or as a petty officer where there is an opportunity to get graft.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the Turk?

Mr. SALMON. That is the Turk; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We are getting the same charge against both races.

Mr. SALMON. Now, as to the character of the people that would be admitted under the terms of this bill, I can simply refer you to their character, the police court records, the poor house records, of the Greeks and Armenians who are here in this country at the present time.

You will find, if you will refer to those records, that they stand very high in the life of the community.

Mr. FREE. What about their honesty? Are they not actually dishonest, on the whole? We have a colony in California and we have never found as dishonest and unreliable lot of people as the Armenians and the Greeks.

Mr. SALMON. Well, sir, I have lived among them for a good many years. They are like everybody else. There are good ones and bad ones among them.

Mr. FREE. They are fundamentally dishonest though, are they not?

Mr. SALMON. No.

Mr. VAILE. We had a witness before this committee on this subject the other day who devoted a great deal of time and gave a very detailed analysis as to the occupants of penal institutions, reformatories, charitable institutions—I am sorry that I do not have the records before me—but I remember one thing, which was that the people of Greece, the Greeks, have two and one-half times their normal proportion of people in these institutions of the United States.

Mr. SALMON. What do you refer to by "normal proportion"? With what is it compared?

Mr. VAILE. With all of the people in all of those institutions, penal institutions, compared with the total population of the United States.

Mr. RAKER. Giving that as 100 per cent?

Mr. VAILE. Calling that 100 per cent. Then, he figured the number from each foreign-born group in the penal institutions, and he determined that, I think by comparing that with the other nationalities, and he found that for that nationality, as compared with the total population, and the total number in the country, and found that the Greeks had 250 per cent.

Mr. SALMON. I would have to see those figures before I could give any credit to them, because they do not agree with my own observation.

Mr. VAILE. They do not agree with your observations of the people over there?

Mr. SALMON. They do not agree with my observation of the people over there or over here.

The CHAIRMAN. You live where?

Mr. SALMON. Athens. I have also been in Smyrna and Constantinople a great deal.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been in Armenia?

Mr. SALMON. Not to any great extent.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about the diseases that are prevalent over there, the prevalent diseases, such as smallpox, typhus?

Mr. SALMON. Of course I know that the sanitation in the Near East is entirely different from what it is here.

The CHAIRMAN. Smallpox, cholera, syphilis, and other diseases rage over there, do they not?

Mr. SALMON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They do?

Mr. SALMON. There is no doubt about that, and there is no doubt but that it is raging in Greece at the present time among the refugees.

Mr. RAKER. Would it not be pretty dangerous to bring over those people, under these circumstances, and turn them loose in the United States?

Mr. SALMON. I do not think so, with the safeguards which you gentlemen have thrown around them in the laws.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, that this sieve, this law which is full of holes, you think would hold out that type of people?

Mr. RAKER. There is no inspection at all. They are not inspected for syphilis, gonorrhea, and other diseases. It is a fact. We had testimony here showing that about 40 per cent of them were suffering from some disease or other.

Mr. SALMON. With those remarks, I wish to proceed with my statement. Do you have any questions that you would like to ask me?

The CHAIRMAN. We would like a general statement from you, and your business over there at the present time. I understand you are president of the American Chamber of Commerce there?

Mr. SALMON. I was president of the American Chamber of Commerce in Greece for about 18 months, and am still a member of it. A position of an officer of an American chamber of commerce abroad is never one carrying any revenue with it. The working staff are paid, but never the officers. I mention my connection with the chamber simply to show a certain amount of knowledge of the commercial and industrial situation in Greece.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that organization?

Mr. SALMON. It is an organization the actual members of which are all Americans. We only accept Greeks as associate members. They have no right to vote in the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Americans in America or Americans in Greece?

Mr. SALMON. Americans in Greece. We are affiliated with the Federated American Chambers of Commerce of the Near East in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Mr. SALMON. That is the American clearing house of the American chambers of commerce in the Near East, and it is through that that we get our American members. Their members are concerns that are located here in the United States. By joining the Federated American Chambers of Commerce here one becomes automatically a member of the different American chambers of commerce in the Near East.

Mr. FREE. What is the purpose of the chamber in the Near East?

Mr. SALMON. To promote American business, and to facilitate business relations between the countries in which the chambers are located and the United States.

Mr. FREE. How is it maintained?

Mr. SALMON. It is maintained by membership dues, and in our own case, Greece, as a result of the small number of Americans there, and we are operating only in a small way; we had to dig down into our own pockets and put up the necessary funds to keep it going.

Mr. RAKER. Just what relation do you have to the chamber, are you the president?

Mr. SALMON. No, sir; I am a former president. I have been in this country for the past year.

Mr. RAKER. What are you now?

Mr. SALMON. I am a member at the present time.

Mr. RAKER. Where is your home, in Athens?

Mr. SALMON. Yes. I have been here in the United States for a year, Mr. Raker, endeavoring to tell the people of the United States, and even presuming to tell the State Department something about Greece, that apparently they did not want to know; something that I think that the State Department did not want to know. That has been my mission here during the past year.

Mr. RAKER. Who is paying your expenses?

Mr. SALMON. Now, Mr. Raker, I pay my own expenses.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a citizen of the United States?

Mr. SALMON. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. And when you are in Athens you are temporarily located there?

Mr. SALMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. FREE. What is your business, outside of your connection with the chamber?

Mr. SALMON. I am an engineer and contractor. I have a shipping office in Athens; but as that might have a bad sound to this committee, I will explain

by saying that we handle only merchandise. We never handled a passenger in our life. If this bill goes through we will not make a cent out of it.

Mr. FREE. What line are you connected with?

Mr. SALMON. I have an agency there and represent several lines, among them the Bull Steamship Co., which, incidentally, the Shipping Board does not permit to call at any port in Greece at this time. We see the vessels steaming past the port of Piræus, but we can not get them to stop at Piræus.

Mr. FREE. Just tell us about that. Why are they not permitted to stop and to do business there? Is that what you mean?

Mr. SALMON. That is right.

Mr. FREE. For what reason?

Mr. SALMON. Because the Shipping Board has allocated this territory in the Mediterranean to different steamship lines. They have allocated to Greece the Export Steamship Line. They have allocated the Black Sea to the Bull Line. That is a recent arrangement that they made.

The CHAIRMAN. They have done that in order to consolidate the business. Go on with your statement, please.

Mr. SALMON. But the effect, Mr. Chairman, has been that the percentage of American goods carried in American bottoms to Greece is steadily decreasing.

Mr. Chairman, you mentioned a few minutes ago your interest in the number of people that would be admitted under this bill. That is something that it is almost impossible for me to estimate. I have made such inquiry as it was possible for me to make, and from my own information and my own knowledge of the situation I do not believe, so far as the Greeks are concerned, that this bill will permit the entry of more than ten or twelve thousand.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the next after the Greeks?

Mr. SALMON. After the Greeks would be the Armenians.

The CHAIRMAN. How many would you estimate would be from there?

Mr. SALMON. I do not believe that there would be over two or three thousand.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the next after the Armenians?

Mr. SALMON. I do not know of any other race that could come under the terms of this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the Russian refugees?

Mr. SALMON. I do not see how they could be considered as coming under this bill, because this bill specifies particularly the refugees from Turkish territory, and states that the terms shall mean any person who has fled from his home since the 1st of October, 1921.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, do you not think that that is rather an arbitrary statement for the Congress to put forward, to reduce it to the refugees since a certain date?

Mr. SALMON. Of course, Mr. Chairman, I am not competent to pass on what Congress should do.

The CHAIRMAN. I assume that you are as interested as other people who would be ready with an amendment to set the date back or to enlarge the numbers or include the citizens of other countries.

Mr. SALMON. Well, of course, that would throw my own figures entirely out. I made my statement with regard to the Russian refugees; that is with regard to whether or not the Russian refugees would be permitted to come in under this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Why should we specify certain refugees, particular refugees, designate them as persons who would be permitted to come in, as persons who had been driven from their homes or had fled from their homes since the 1st day of October, 1921, and restrict it to certain places, when all of that country, on all of that map, in eastern Europe and Asia Minor is filled with refugees? Why do you think that it is necessary for us to come to their rescue by designating any certain refugees, or a particular set of refugees?

Mr. SALMON. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that the reason for that is within the very comparatively short space of time a vast number of people have been driven from their homes, and the only country to which they can migrate to-day is Greece.

Mr. FREE. Has not that same thing been happening for the last 10 years?

Mr. SALMON. No; not on the scale of the present time.

Mr. FREE. They have not been driven from as large a city as Smyrna?

Mr. SALMON. Not only Smyrna, my dear sir, but it is the whole of Asia Minor, from which the Turks have said that the Greeks will be permitted to

leave by a certain time, which is simply the Turk's method of saying that they must get out within a certain time.

Mr. TAYLOR. Did not the same thing exist in Russia?

Mr. FREE. What would be the conditions, what should be done, under such conditions as they had in Russia, where they did not say that they had to get out, but as a matter of fact the people did have to get out in order to save their lives?

Mr. SALMON. I do not think that they were given much of a chance to get out of Russia, from what I have been able to learn from the newspapers. That is my only source of information.

Mr. FREE. When they were given a chance, they did get out?

Mr. SALMON. These Russian refugees at Constantinople are very largely the remnants of Wrangle's army. They were given no opportunity to get out. They got out largely because they were able to hold off the Reds until our destroyers and certain merchant ships got into the Black Sea and took them to Constantinople.

Mr. CABLE. I think during the last several months the Soviet Government has deported, according to the statements that we see in the papers, some 15,000 persons, who find themselves not in harmony with the Soviet Government.

The CHAIRMAN. There is a very large number in China that are making appeals to be admitted as refugees. I have a book here, "Armenia and Kurdistan," published in 1920 in England for use by the peace conference, containing matter collected at that time—rather, put out—by the historical section of the foreign office in London, in which I find this statement:

"It is estimated that the Armenians once numbered over 20,000,000, and the steady reduction of the population in modern times must be attributed almost entirely to Turkish persecution in one form or another.

"During the war, and as a result of the deportations and massacres of 1915, Lord Bryce estimated in 1916 that of a total Armenian population in Turkey of about 1,800,000 before the war, 600,000 were massacred, 600,000 were deported, 300,000 remain in Armenia, and 300,000 survive in Constantinople, Smyrna, other parts of Turkey or in adjoining territories as refugees. Of the 600,000 who were stated to have been deported to Mesopotamia in 1915, the latest estimate received from Aleppo (December, 1918) puts the number of survivors at 90,000 only.

"The Kurds have also suffered very severely from the vicissitudes of the war."

And so on.

Now, looking over the chronological summary, you can begin as early as you want to, back 833 B. C., but if you begin as late as 1877, you find:

"1877. Armenians in Russia helping in the war against Turkey.

"1878. Treaty of Berlin. The powers press for reforms in Armenia.

"1880. Identical note of powers to Porte concerning reforms.

"1881. Assassination of Alexander II. Depressions of Armenians.

"1883. Germany refuses to join England in enforcing reforms.

"1894-1896. Armenians (accused of revolutionary schemes) attacked by Kurds. The powers protest. Wholesale massacres. Russia refuses to support England in putting pressure on the Sultan.

"1904. Massacres in Mush district.

"1908. Revolution in Turkey. The Armenians support the Young Turks."

The Young Turks are now old Turks, I imagine.

"1909. Deposition of Abdul Hamid. Massacre of Adana, etc., by the committee of union and progress.

"1914. Schemes of reformers stopped by outbreak of war.

"1915. Massacre of Armenians on a larger scale by the orders of the Turkish Government and with the tacit approval of the Central Powers."

And then right into the war, the attempt of the Allies to settle the matter; the bringing in of 1 of 14 points by former President Wilson, which tried to settle the question in all of this territory. Now comes the refugee situation. What are you going to do with it? It is a big problem, I admit.

Mr. SALMON. Mr. Chairman, when you get to the question of responsibility as to what has happened over there, you must not overlook the responsibility of our own Government during the past two years when we have refused to recognize the constitutional, legal, and lawful Government of Greece, when

we have refused to carry out our solemn agreements with Greece on financial matters, and due to our action on those two matters—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Well, no one member of the Government, or no one citizen can say that this or that party was responsible for this or that incident. You can not settle these things. We are hearing from some people who think that we have a debt of honor to Liberia, which should be paid, and others think not.

But the question now, and our problem is, must we bring these refugees in as against other refugees; and if we bring in these refugees will the others make the same appeal for other refugees, both those that were refugees before these Greeks became refugees and those that became refugees afterwards?

Mr. SALMON. Mr. Chairman, if you are asking what appeals we are likely to have, I do not know. I think that you can say that we are obligated to bring in some of these refugees from this standpoint, because we have men in this country that have come here that are good, law-abiding, upright citizens, to whom we have extended the privileges of American citizenship, and who have unprotected sisters, old fathers and mothers who are living in a country in which it is absolutely impossible to give them more than a bowl of soup and sometimes not even a roof over their heads. I think that we have certain obligations to those people.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the number that would be affected?

Mr. SALMON. I do not think that the number would exceed 10,000 Greeks and not over 2,000 Armenians.

The CHAIRMAN. Where will they settle?

Mr. SALMON. All over the United States, because the Greek and Armenian population is scattered all over the United States.

Mr. FREE. Mr. Chairman, during the first part of the hearings I understood Mr. Bartoll, in a conversation, to say that there would be about 40,000 that would come in under this act; is that correct Mr. Bartoll?

Mr. BARTOLI. Yes, sir; that figure is the number, in my opinion. There would be 30,000 refugees.

Mr. RAKER. I do not know—I am going to put this thing in a kind of a question and a statement, and perhaps ask the witness the question. I would like for Mr. Salmon to discuss the connection, because the Greeks came here and took the opportunity afforded by this Government to become citizens or live here, that thereby and thereupon the Government of the United States and the people, irrespective as to the result that may come to our people and to our Government, owes a duty to bring all the relatives of those who heretofore have come to this country. I do not see where our American citizens get that idea. I would like for him to explain it. I hear that so much.

Mr. WHITE. I submit that that is a hypothetical question, and it is not fair for us to consider it. We do not make that proposition in this bill.

Mr. RAKER. I did not say anything about this bill, Mr. White.

Mr. WHITE. Well, we are discussing this bill now. Therefore I say that the question is not fair.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness invited questions, and therefore bit off a large contract. Let me say that if we open the question of refugees, we will have a situation wherein the quota is filled; the men come in and fill the quota, then their families become refugees, and as soon as he has become established here he must save his family. If we did not have anything in the bill with regard to the numbers, when the men got here and got established they would at once want to bring over their families to make a unit.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman, you are making an argument.

The CHAIRMAN. I am trying to bring this before this witness.

Mr. WHITE. I would like to have an answer, but I am not going to take up the time of this committee to do that now, Mr. Chairman, because you know, and every member of this committee knows, that this will all be thrashed out in executive session of this committee, and if we refrain from the discussion of those questions. I called attention the other day to the underlying principles of the bill which we passed on in December, 1920.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; but that was not free from objection.

Mr. WHITE. That bill was based upon the same proposition, and upon the same basic idea as this bill is.

Mr. VAILE. Yes; let us hear the witness.

Mr. WHITE. Could you say how many would come into the country?

Mr. SALMON. I am not supporting this or any other particular bill. I never read the bill until yesterday, and I was asked by some people if I would come down here and give my testimony; asked if I would come down here and appear before this committee. I am supporting no one thing more than I am simply trying to give these people—

The CHAIRMAN (Interposing). Perhaps we have been on the wrong track. Are you appearing for the admission of refugees, who are from Turkey, after a certain day, who have relatives in the United States, provided the relatives can give a bond for them, preventing them from becoming public charges or other objects of charity?

Mr. SALMON. I do; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You do support that?

Mr. SALMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Irrespective of the numbers?

Mr. SALMON. I would not say irrespective of the numbers; no. I would support the bill as it is drawn, on my own estimate, and I would say that my estimates were checked last night with an American who knows more about Greece than any other person, possibly in America, Professor Capps, who for two years was over there at the head of the Red Cross work, and was afterwards American minister. He went over my figures very carefully, and his figures and mine agree as to number, the number of people that might be brought in.

Mr. RAKER. Would you be willing to have the bill drawn in such a manner that it would provide a maximum, say, so that it would admit not in excess of 10,000?

Mr. SALMON. It is my opinion that 10,000 would cover it. I do not think that there will be more than 10,000 Greek.

Mr. WHITE. Then, would this bill, in your judgment, admit an unlimited number?

Mr. SALMON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. SALMON. While I am speaking as an American citizen, I have a very, very, vivid understanding of the situation in Greece at the present time, and I feel that not only America, but any other country in the world, should do whatever they can for the relief of that situation.

Mr. FREE. You are speaking as an American now?

Mr. SALMON. I am speaking as an American. I have a very vivid understanding of the situation in Greece, at the present moment, and I feel that not only the United States, but every country in the world, should do what it can to relieve and alleviate the conditions there.

Mr. BOX. Do you have any connection with the Greek Legation?

Mr. SALMON. I have no connection with the Greek Legation whatever.

Mr. BOX. What relation is there, if you know, between Mr. Bartoldi and the Greek Legation?

Mr. SALMON. I do not know of any relation of any kind.

I will qualify my statement to this extent. During the month of August I went to Williamstown, as a representative of the Greek Legation, to the Institute of Politics, because they had no one available in the Legation that was sufficiently familiar with the matter, so they asked me to go there and they paid my expenses.

Mr. TAYLOR. When was that?

Mr. SALMON. In the month of August. The Institute was in session throughout the entire month.

Mr. RAKER. All right. Let me ask you a question. Your business is in Athens, Greece?

Mr. SALMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Of course you are interested, are you not, in seeing that everything is done there to build up that country?

Mr. SALMON. There is no question about that.

Mr. RAKER. And you feel as though we ought to relieve the situation there; that is in Athens and Greece and the whole territory, as well as Athens, particularly and especially, and you think we should take in as many of these Greek refugees, as have any relatives, as designated in this bill, into the country.

Mr. SALMON. Mr. Congressman, taking in 10,000 refugees, is not going to materially alleviate the situation in Greece. You would have to take in a million and a half, to relieve the situation.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the very point that I am trying to get at, in connection with this bill. While it only limits it to the provisions in the bill, do

you not think that there would be propositions to amend it a little later so that all of them could come in?

Mr. RAKER. If that is a fact, why put an entering wedge of this kind into the Congress.

Mr. SALMON. Is it not worth while to save the lives of 10,000 people?

Mr. RAKER. Yes, sir; it is worth while to save the lives of 10,000 people; but is it worth while to save the lives of 10,000 people and endanger at the same time the lives of 40,000,000 people?

Mr. SALMON. Well, I can not see the connection.

Mr. RAKER. I am putting a hypothetical question. You put a hypothetical question.

Mr. WHITE. Where do you get 40,000,000?

Mr. RAKER. Let him answer my question.

Mr. WHITE. I think that we should do our best to try to save all that we can from distress.

Mr. RAKER. Irrespective of what the result is at home?

Mr. SALMON. Mr. Congressman, I should say, in replying to your question, if you will permit me to say it—

Mr. RAKER (interposing). Say anything that you want to say.

Mr. SALMON. I should say that your question has no bearing on the subject, but since the question has been put to me I will answer it as best I can. No.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I would like to go a little further in connection with the letter which you read and explain the difference in the situation that is proposed under this bill and the conditions which are referred to in that letter.

These people who will be brought in here at the present time under this bill are people who have not been trying to come into this country. They are people who two months ago were living in a fair degree of prosperity. They had their own homes. They were living in a country which I submit, with all due respect to my own country, is just as pleasant a country to live in as this is. I do not know of any more delightful town in the world than Smyrna was before the fire. They were people, many of them well to do—I could stand here if that would not be too much of an imposition upon the time of the committee, and give name after name of Greeks I know here in this country, established, well to do, educated, and whose relatives on the other side up to two or three months ago were happy, contented, prosperous, and with a fair degree of the good things of this life, and had no more desire of coming here to America than you have of going to Asia Minor.

The situation in Greece to-day is that of a country with four million and a half people that have had suddenly dumped within its borders, practically over night, through no fault of its own, a million and a half refugees.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it through no fault of its own?

Mr. SALMON. Yes; through no fault of its own for this reason: The Greek troops went to Smyrna, with the support of the Allies. That is history. They went at the request of Lloyd-George. The Greek army never would have gone into Asia Minor if it had not had the promise of allied support. Shortly after they arrived there, on account of dissention between the Allies, two of them ceased to back Greece, and one of them started definitely backing the Turkish revolution, which was also backed by Russian gold. You will find more Russian gold there than you will find any place else in the world. You will find the Turkish army armed and equipped with munitions, goods they bought in France, and many of them that were bought by the French Government from our own supplies. You will find French guns, and you will find American equipment and American uniforms in the Turkish army to-day.

Mr. RAKER. In the Turkish army?

Mr. SALMON. Yes, sir; which were sold to the French, and which equipment the French, I believe, have not paid for, but have sold to the Turks.

Mr. RAKER. American uniforms?

Mr. SALMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. And the Turks are wearing them?

Mr. SALMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAYLOR. Has not Greece recently gone through a revolution?

Mr. SALMON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you think that these refugees should be selected?

Mr. SALMON. Under the terms of your bill, they would be selected after the petition had been made on this side and examination had been made on the other side.

Mr. WHITE. The same under the law as it is now?

The CHAIRMAN. What would you do if there turned out to be 50,000 instead of 10,000?

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman, you have studied this bill very carefully?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Would it apply to any relatives that were here last year, applying for admission into the United States, not on account of the hardships in Asia Minor?

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman, I have written an amendment, which I propose to offer in the committee, which will clarify that situation absolutely.

Mr. BAKER. Let me ask you this question. These statements which you have just made to us with regard to the conditions in Smyrna, and the various conditions, you get that from your personal information?

Mr. SALMON. I did not get it from personal information. I was not present. Of course, I have been in the United States since December, 1921.

Mr. BAKER. Yes.

Mr. SALMON. But I know what the population of Greece was at that time, and I know what the industry in Greece was. I have, or had until the Smyrna disaster, representatives in Smyrna and Constantinople and correspondents throughout the entire region who were making more or less regular reports on the commercial conditions and also giving me certain information as to the general situation.

Mr. BAKER. Where did you get the information about the Turks having American uniforms and the French having bought this stuff from America, and then having sold the equipment and uniforms, sent it over to the Turks?

Mr. SALMON. I get it now from persons who have been over there. I have seen a number of people who have been over there.

Mr. BAKER. You just get it from them?

Mr. SALMON. I would suggest along that line, if the committee wishes accurate information, which can be had—it has never been published because, in my opinion, the State Department does not want it published—if you will call upon Consul General Horton, from Smyrna. I am sure he can give you all of the first-hand information that you desire.

Mr. BAKER. What does Major Love know about it in the War Department?

Mr. SALMON. Who?

Mr. BAKER. Major Love.

Mr. SALMON. I do not know the gentleman.

Mr. BAKER. Your information, then, is all hearsay?

Mr. SALMON. It is.

Mr. BAKER. Just who called upon you to come before this committee?

Mr. SALMON. Reverend Bridgeman.

Mr. BAKER. Who is Reverend Bridgeman?

Mr. SALMON. I can not tell you that. I met Reverend Bridgeman at a meeting of the Near East Relief Society and had a conversation with him on the subject of Grecian affairs.

Mr. WHITE. Do you know whether or not he is connected with the Near East Relief Society?

Mr. SALMON. I do not think so. I do not know.

Mr. BAKER. What is his nationality?

Mr. SALMON. He is an American.

The CHAIRMAN. He is an Episcopal minister, is he not?

Mr. SALMON. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything further that you want to offer in connection with this matter?

Mr. SALMON. I do not think so. Mr. Chairman, except that I want to impress this fact upon the committee: The newspapers said recently that if the Greeks in this country were prepared to take care of their relatives over here, that they should send money over there for their relief, instead of bring'ng them over here.

In answer to that, I want to say that it is not a question of the people sending money to their relatives in Greece at the present moment, for the reason that there are no houses for them to live in nor occupations for the people. In old Greece, a year ago, they had 44,000 people engaged in industry. The rest of the people were agriculturists, mariners, or traders.

It is impossible to swell their industry to take care of the people. They have no building materials. It is not possible to take care of them, to give shelter to the number* of people that have been forced into Greece up to the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, they are existing.

Mr. SALMON. The Near East reports, I was told yesterday, are to the effect that in the neighborhood of Piraeus there are 180 children dying daily.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we were hearing the same thing from Russia last year.

Mr. SALMON. And, we gave all of the relief that we could. We sent across some \$30,000,000.

Mr. RAKER. That was before the war?

Mr. SALMON. Since the war.

Mr. Box. But the gentlemen says that Russian gold is being used to create that very condition down there now.

Mr. RAKER. I remember that.

Mr. VAILE. Outside of Russia, it is about the only place that there is any Russian gold.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the next place that you think, perhaps, there will be any refugees that will want to come into the United States?

Mr. SALMON. In the Near East?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SALMON. I do not know, Mr. Chairman. I do not feel nearly as pessimistic as the preceding witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you see any of them any place where they are likely to have a tremendous overflow in that part of the country?

Mr. SALMON. Constantinople.

Mr. RAKER. There is a danger over there?

Mr. SALMON. Yes. And I would like to be permitted to say here that I think our ambassador, Ambassador Child, has taken a very unwarranted position in recommending that the Greeks stay in Turkey. If the newspapers report him correctly, he has recommended that they stay in Constantinople, which means that he is taking upon his shoulders the responsibility of the lives of those Greeks, 300,000 people.

Mr. RAKER. Could you give us some estimate as to the number of Bolsheviks among these refugees, from Russia, that, if they were permitted to come into the United States, would probably destroy this country?

Mr. SALMON. Oh, I can not answer that question, sir.

Mr. RAKER. There are a good many of them, are there not?

Mr. SALMON. Well, there are not from Greece.

Mr. RAKER. How many Greeks are there in this country that are violating the eighteenth amendment? There are 75 or 90 per cent of them?

The CHAIRMAN. That is too involved a question.

Mr. RAKER. No; it is not; I want to know for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the Greek population of the United States now?

Mr. SALMON. The Greek population of the United States, according to the last census, is 175,972. Now, I have a tabulation here—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). That is, unnaturalized?

Mr. SALMON. No, sir; that is the number of Greeks who were born in Greece proper.

I have a tabulation here which has been worked out by a Greek naturalized American citizen, an attorney here in the city of Washington, which gives not only the population according to the census but attempts to reconcile statement as to the population, that there are 352,400 Greeks in the United States. Of course, the Greeks consider that once a Greek a man is always a Greek.

The CHAIRMAN. They do?

Mr. SALMON. Yes; and no matter whether he has denounced his nationality, having lived in Turkey or any other country and acquired the nationality of that country, if they were once a Greek the Greeks regard them and count them as Greeks.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that they would continue to think that, in the United States, if the United States permitted the Greeks to come here; do you think that they would continue to consider themselves Greeks?

Mr. SALMON. I do not think, Mr. Chairman, that they will act in any way that would be averse to the interests of the United States, because as far as my own knowledge goes, the ones that have accepted American citizenship are

very radically American, and when they go back to Greece they look down upon the native Greeks and try to lord it over them.

Mr. Box. May I ask the gentleman a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. Box. In stating the position for the Greek people now in America, when they come here, have you read the articles on peonage and the padrone system in the summary of the immigration reports, appearing on pages 448 to 451, and the one on the Greek branch of that?

Mr. SALMON. I have not.

Mr. Box. On pages 391 to 408 of the same report?

Mr. SALMON. No, sir; I have not read those. I have not made a study of the immigration question. I have never read the report.

Mr. FREE. Mr. Chairman, I think that ought to go in the record at this place.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY HON. JOHN C. BOX.

Some people outside and members of this committee speak of the distress in the Near East as if it were new, creating an unusual present but temporary emergency. Such conditions have been recurring in that region for 3,000 years. The story would be even older if history extended back far enough to record it.

Witnesses have testified before you that these Greeks are pure Ionian Greeks who have not been mongrelized by race mixture. To refute that, I quote a few bits of history which I have gathered from a vast mass to the same effect:

"In racial characteristics the Greeks belong to the Mediterranean race and are akin to the Iberian of Spain and the Ligurian of Italy.

* * * * *

"In recent times education, intermixture with other races, and commerce have to a great extent removed their distinctive peculiarities."

* * * * *

"The life of the true Greece was obscured for several centuries, only appearing as the peninsula became the object of conquest or an arena of strife."

* * * * *

"From the sixth to the eighth century Slavic peoples from the north crowded into the Balkan Peninsula. The invaders were merged to some extent with the ancient race and remained in occupancy of Illyria and Thrace, producing a mixture of nationalities which constitutes at the present day one of the chief elements of confusion in the puzzling problems of the Balkan Peninsula."

Of the present Greek army it is said:

"Fifteen per cent of the army recruits can only read, and 30 per cent are totally illiterate." (The New International Encyclopedia, vol. 10, pp. 292, 293, 297.)

That emergencies similar to this have been arising for hundreds of years and that serious consequences may result to outside countries from dealing unwisely with them is shown by the following quotation from Gibbons's account of an occurrence in the third century:

"But the attention of the emperor was most seriously engaged by the important intelligence which he received from the civil and military officers who were intrusted with the defense of the Danube. He was informed that the north was agitated by a furious tempest; that the irruption of the Huns, an unknown and monstrous race of savages, had subverted the power of the Goths; and that the suppliant multitudes of that warlike nation, whose pride was now humbled in the dust, covered a space of many miles along the banks of the river. With outstretched arms and pathetic lamentations, they loudly deplored their past misfortunes and their present danger; acknowledged that their only hope of safety was in the clemency of the Roman Government; and most solemnly protested that if the gracious liberality of the emperor would permit them to cultivate the waste lands of Thrace, they would ever hold themselves bound by the strongest obligations of duty and gratitude to obey the laws and to guard the limits of the republic. These assurances were confirmed by the ambassadors of the Goths, who impatiently expected from the

mouth of Valens an answer that must finally determine the fate of their unhappy countrymen. The emperor of the East who longer guided by the wisdom and authority of his elder brother, whose death happened toward the end of the preceding year; and as the distressful situation of the Goths required an instant and peremptory decision, he was deprived of the favorite resource of feeble and timid minds, who consider the use of dilatory and ambiguous measures as the most admirable efforts of consummate prudence."

"When that important proposition, so essentially connected with the public safety, was referred to the ministers of Valens, they were perplexed and divided; but they soon acquiesced in the flattering sentiment which seemed the most favorable to the pride, the indolence, and the avarice of their sovereign. The slaves, who were decorated with the titles of prefects and generals, dissembled or disregarded the terrors of this national emigration; so extremely different from the partial and accidental colonies, which had been received on the extreme limits of the empire. But they applauded the liberality of fortune, which had conducted, from the most distant countries of the globe, a numerous and invincible army of strangers, to defend the throne of Valens; who might now add to the royal treasures the immense sums of gold supplied by the provincials to compensate their annual proportion of recruits. The prayers of the Goths were granted, and their service was accepted by the imperial court; and orders were immediately dispatched to the civil and military governors of the Thracian diocese to make the necessary preparations for the passage and subsistence of a great people, till a proper and sufficient territory could be allotted for their future residence."

"It was thought expedient that an accurate account should be taken of their numbers; but the persons who were employed soon desisted, with amazement and dismay from the prosecution of the endless and impracticable task; and the principal historian of the age most seriously affirms that the prodigious armies of Darius and Xerxes, which had so long been considered as the fables of vain and credulous antiquity, were now justified in the eyes of mankind by the evidence of fact and experience. A probable testimony has fixed the number of Gothic warriors at 200,000 men; and if we can venture to add the just proportion of women, of children, and of slaves, the whole mass of people which composed this formidable emigration must have amounted to near a million of persons of both sexes and of all ages." (Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Vol. II, pp. 499 to 501.)

These immigrants soon became restless and lawless and rose in rebellion. They defeated the Imperial army, slew the emperor who had admitted them, and, being joined by masses of their kinspeople from the home land, for a long time overrun the country. They were never expelled. But they and other invading immigrants like them, finally completely subverted the national life and almost destroyed the civilization of Rome, and ushered in the long dismal period of human history known as the Dark Ages.

The record of that transaction, and of the period to which it belongs, is found in Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, in Myers' Ancient History, West's Ancient World, and other authentic histories covering the period from A. D. 200 to 800.

That region was invaded and subjugated 1300 years before Christ.

"We know that at a very early date there was a vigorous race dwelling in central Europe, with the beginnings of a civilization and with some knowledge of the use of iron. Presumably about 1300 B. C., bands of these fair-haired, blue-eyed, ox-eating warriors from the North, drawn by the splendor and riches of the Mycenaean South, broke into Greece, as men of the North so many times have broken into southern Europe. These mighty-limbed strangers, armed with long iron swords, easily established themselves among the short, dark, bronze-weaponed natives, dwelt in their cities, became their chiefs, married their women and possessed their wealth." (Ancient World, West, p. 86.)

"What took place here in the Greek Peninsula a thousand years before our era has been likened to what took place in the Italian Peninsula in the fifth century after Christ, when the invading German tribes overwhelmed the civilization of Rome." (Myers' Ancient History, p. 120.)

When the Turks captured Constantinople in 1453 there was a massacre of Greek people in which thousands were slain, thousands of women outraged, and tens of thousands of both sexes enslaved. The woeful story extends down to now. Practically every witness before your committee who answered inquiries on the point expressed the fear that things as bad or worse are ahead and must continue indefinitely.

I call your attention to the population of all that vast region, consisting of scores of millions of antagonistic intolerant races and religions, and remind you that no strong guardian appears to keep the peace among them. I see nothing to change the current of history as it has flowed through that part of the world for 3,000 years. You are not dealing with a problem of to-day merely, but with a problem older than America and much older than modern Europe. It is folly to treat it as a temporary emergency.

America has sympathized with the Armenians because they are Christians. America now sympathizes with the Greeks because of their past history and present distress. These refugees came from both races. Their present plight is due to defeat and withdrawal of the armies of Greece. Greece cut a queer figure in the recent World War. At first its German King sided with Germany. Later he was dethroned. Later still a German prince was called to rule over the Greeks. Now he has been banished. Greek officers conducted themselves so shamefully during the recent war with the Turks that they were executed. They were either grossly guilty or the present Government of Greece is corrupt and cruel. Consul General Horton, stationed at Smyrna at the time of the recent horrible occurrences, testified before your committee that the Greek Army, in its retreat before the burning of Smyrna and the massacres there, had engaged in practices of a similar kind upon their retreat; that their general told him in advance that his army would have to engage in such practices. Nothing can excuse the horrible crimes committed by the Turks or equal them in enormity, but the Greeks, by similar practices just a few days before, had furnished them a horrible excuse, which they probably did not need. You have race hatred against race hatred, religious intolerance against religious intolerance, burning against burning, murder against murder, cruelty against cruelty, following the precedents of thousands of years and with those who are worsted now clamoring to us for an asylum and for subsistence, just as the Goths clamored to the Romans 1,600 years ago.

In this connection I want to insist that whatever may have been the faults or mistakes in America's foreign policy, no mistake or weakness in our foreign policy makes us responsible for the woes of the foreign world to an extent which obligates us to take their unhappy thousands, scores of thousands, or millions into our own borders to help reproduce here the conditions from which they flee. Some of the very gentlemen who are before you urging the admission of some thousands of these fugitives have based their demand for the admission of these people on a statement that America is responsible for their condition in part, at least. If America is responsible at all, I am afraid the bloody blot can never be washed out; but I do not believe that our people should be made to atone for a mistake in foreign policy by their Government in the manner here proposed. I quote from the News Bulletin of the Foreign Policy Association, dated November 17, 1922:

"AMERICA WATCHES HELPLESSLY.

"The crisis in Constantinople continues desperately tense. It is fraught with possibilities of tragedy of incalculable proportions. America stands by helpless, watching intently and hoping almost against hope that peace may be maintained and the Christian populations saved from slaughter and the Turks from the inevitable bloody retaliation. Washington satisfies itself with 'observing.'

"WHAT IS THE UNITED STATES DOING?

"The United States does next to nothing. If a peaceful solution is found, this Government will deserve not of the credit. If the terrible calamity anticipated by many observers becomes a reality, the United States will inevitably be drawn in. If massacres were to follow the withdrawal of the allied contingents, it is doubtful if Washington could resist the imperative demand for action which, incited by evangelical forces throughout the country, might sweep away all counsels of conciliation and restraint."

AMERICAN ISOLATION NONEXISTENT.

"American isolation is a myth. The United States can not disassociate herself from a European question like the Near East. It touches too deeply many of the most cherished interests of millions of our citizens. The difficulty of the United States playing a successful rôle as mediator, or the even more modest rôle of offering its good offices, has been made much more difficult, if not hopeless, by the announcement of a policy of aloofness. No such announcement, even when phrased by a brilliant advocate like Secretary Hughes, can free Washington from its full measure of responsibility. Such a declaration can have one result. It prevents effectively this Government having an opportunity for constructive helpfulness before the crisis becomes insoluble."

Mr. B. P. Salmon, former president of the American Chamber of Commerce in Greece, appeared before you urging the passage of the bill introduced by the gentleman from Kansas, Mr. White. In the issue of the News Bulletin mentioned above Mr. Salmon has a signed article, from which I quote:

"AMERICA'S RESPONSIBILITY.

"Part of the responsibility for this situation (to-day in the Near East) is due to our own lack of a definite foreign policy at Washington which in turn is due to the fact that the American people themselves have no well defined ideas on foreign policies, and therefore the State Department has been content to do nothing in the Near East, thinking that this would be acceptable to the American people. * * * The situation has become increasingly difficult and the need of urgent action in connection with the final settlement is increasingly apparent."

"Another matter on which I believe American sentiment should be clearly defined is our responsibility toward Greece in connection with the so-called three-power loan of 1918. In this matter, we have not only refused to pay the balance due under the loan agreement, but what is worse, we have held Greece to a clause of the agreement which provides that she shall not pledge security for further exterior loan until the so-called three-power loan has been liquidated. In other words, we have held the Greek security, while we have only advanced a third of the money for which the security was given. It is my personal belief that this loan agreement is a valid contract and that the United States is morally and legally bound to recognize it as such. If, on the other hand, the State Department can show that it is not either a legal or moral obligation, they should reach some agreement with Greece on the subject. The great problem which confronts Greece to-day is that of constructive relief which will enable them to place as rapidly as possible the hundreds of thousands of refugees pouring into the country into gainful occupations, turning them from a liability into an asset.

"One of the first things that will have to be done will be to clear up the unfortunate situation created by the present status of the American loan to Greece.

"B. P. SALMON."

In a signed article appearing in a recent issue of the New York Evening Post. Mr. Samuel L. M. Barlow says, among other things:

"The refugees are over the monthly quota, over the yearly quota, from Asia Minor. Some 50,000 of them, having relatives in this country to whom to go, are knocking for admittance.

"But Washington is alarmed. There is an air of foreign entanglement about this and we must not be entangled. But we are; we are entangled! We are entangled by a generous gesture!

"We are entangled up to our honor."

If a mistake has been made in our foreign policy it does not entail upon the people of the United States the obligation to provide a home for the people

made unhappy and homeless by the racial and religious antipathies of the regions involved. The acceptance of such a consequence would bring upon us serious calamity, if not early ruin.

In an effort to persuade you to report favorably a measure providing for the admission of some thousands of these refugees, the number of which witnesses estimate at from 5,000 to 100,000, some have extolled the virtues of the Greeks as prospective citizens of the United States.

That the people of all that region are mongrels, mixed and intermixed from invading and near-by races from the north, from the brown people of the east, and the black people of the south, is well known to every student. That they are incapable of working out the problems of government and protecting themselves against the destructive forces moving among them is made plain by their present plight and by conditions prevailing among them since antiquity and promising to continue forever. That such people will not contribute to what is best in the life of America is plain.

I call your attention to the fact that there is a vast system of peonage or slavery practiced by the Greek people in the United States now. I refer, gentlemen, to the extensive report made on this subject by the Immigration Commission, composed of such men as Senators Dillingham and Lodge, Hon. John L. Burnett, then of the House, and Prof. Jeremiah W. Jenks, which will be found on pages 391 to 408 of volume 2 of Abstracts of Reports of the Immigration Commission. I ask that the clerk insert these extracts from that report which I am handing him:

"The poorer classes in Greece, and particularly those of the provinces from which bootblacks are drafted, have little ambition to educate their children, because they themselves are to a large degree ignorant and unable to appreciate the value of education.

"The Greek peasant is therefore more concerned with the income he is able to derive by placing his children at work than with educating them."

"In countries where the laboring classes are wholly under the control of their employers, the term 'padrone' is applied to the manager, superintendent, foreman, or proprietor of any mercantile establishment, and signifies that in the person designated as padrone absolute authority is vested to control employees. He has the right to prescribe the character of the work that each laborer shall perform, to increase or decrease at will the hours of work and the wages received, and to punish him physically at times."

"Among the Greeks the padrone system is in operation in every city of the United States of over 10,000 population, with few exceptions, and is confined in the main to shoe-shining establishments, although it is to a considerable extent prevalent among railroad laborers in the Western States and among flower, fruit, and vegetable vendors in Chicago. The aliens utilized by the system in peddling and in shoe shining are as a rule from 12 to 17 years of age, while those employed on railroad work are generally adults."

"There are several thousand shoe-shining places in the United States operated by Greeks, and with few exceptions they are under the padrone system."

"The boys, in their helplessness, believe that were it not for the opportunity of employment offered them by padrones they would starve because of their ignorance of the language and labor conditions in this country."

"In some cases padrones utilize the following means to compel boys to remain in their employ: As they pay their help their wages at the end of each year, as a rule forwarding direct a draft to the boy's parents in Greece, they claim they are short money, and fall in arrears in such payments. As a result the boys remain in their service in the hope of receiving what is due them. On the other hand, the padrones avail themselves of all technicalities in law, secure numerous continuances, and, without exception, appeal all such cases. The young plaintiffs become gradually disheartened and abandon the suits, deeming such a course the least expensive and most logical, and convinced that there is no justice for the poor in this country."

"Though the shoe-shining business is the main field of the system in the United States, quite a number of Greeks are brought here in violation of law

and are placed at work on railroads in the Western States under the padrone system." * * *

"He is generally brought here from Greece on an agreement, secured by a mortgage or a promissory note, to pay from \$180 to \$250 for his steamship passage and 'show money.' Upon reaching his destination in the United States, he is usually charged \$10 labor agent's fee, for putting him to work; he is charged \$1 per month interpreter's fee, as it is commonly called, this being the monthly tribute of each laborer to the interpreter of the gang, notwithstanding the fact that he is a salaried employee of the railroad company. Every three months the laborer is told to contribute \$1 or more, intended as a present to the foreman or roadmaster, and every spring and fall he may be called upon for another \$10 by the labor agent, who promises to prevent his discharge from work through his influence with the roadmaster or those higher up.

"The money for steamship tickets is often furnished by the padrone interpreters, who are, in nearly all instances, in partnership with their relatives in Greece; that is, they divide their profits." * * *

"It is, in my opinion, more humane and infinitely better for young Greeks to be refused admission into the United than to be permitted to land if they are intended for such employment." (N. Salopoulos, Greek consul general, Nov. 10, 1910.)

Several Greek physicians in Chicago, in a joint letter to the Immigration Commissioner, dated November 10, 1910, say, among other things, the following:

"We deem this occupation highly injurious and destructive to the physique of young Greek boys, and believe that the United States Government would do better to deport them rather than to allow them to land if they are destined to this employment under existing conditions."

* * *

"Without exception, all the Greek physicians of our large cities who were interviewed on this subject expressed substantially the same views as those embodied in the foregoing letters."

Not all of the immigrants from Greece and Turkey belong to the class mentioned or to other objectionable groups. But the simple truth is that they are very heavily represented among the undesirable kinds. For instance, the evidence submitted to your committee in its hearings upon this proposition shows that venereal and other dangerous diseases are widely prevalent among these refugees.

In the annual report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for 1914 will be found the report of a special investigation of immigration conditions in eastern Europe and Asiatic Turkey, made by Mr. W. W. Husband to Hon. A. Caminetti, then Commissioner General of Immigration, which position Mr. Husband himself now holds. In that report Mr. Husband repeatedly states that diseases which bar immigrants from admission to the United States and Canada are widely prevalent in that region. The following are some of his remarks on that subject:

"Diseases which bar immigrants from the United States and Canada are very prevalent in Turkey, but as a rule emigrants are not examined in this regard until arrival at some intermediate port. Although strongly opposed by the French Academy of Medicine, emigrants afflicted with trachoma and other diseases are freely admitted at Marseille."

* * *

"It is said that in one quarter of Paris trachoma has become quite prevalent because of Syrian immigrants who have settled there."

Mr. Husband even suggested that because of the number of diseased immigrants coming from that region through France and England some agreement be made between the United States and England "under which better protection will be afforded the United States in that regard."

Mr. Chairman, every group which presses a demand for the admission of aliens to the United States claims that an emergency exists in their case. That was the claim made three years ago when you were asked to report a bill authorizing the admission of 4,000,000 of Russians and Italians and their families. When the committee was urged to report a bill providing for the

admission of 40,000 Chinese coolies to Hawaii, it was claimed in support of the measure that a most acute emergency existed. In all of the numerous measures for the admission of the relatives of foreign-born people in the United States an effort is made to show a distressing emergency in each instance. On the two occasions when we have taken down the bars imposed by the 8 per cent restriction it has been done under the claim that an acute emergency existed. Here comes another emergency. Every case of hardship and distress presents an emergency to those concerned. There are enough such emergencies to absolutely overflow America with their victims and to create here an emergency, a tragedy, equal to the worst. When we have foolishly listened to a sufficient number of such appeals to fill America with the pandemonium and woe which now curse so many parts of the world, who will relieve our children from the distress which we are cooking up for them now?

Mr. WHITE. I want to ask the witness two or three questions before he leaves the stand, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. RAKER. Before you get to that, I want to get some ideas from the witness as to what he means by once a Greek always a Greek. Do they mean by that, those born in Greece, or if they are members of the Orthodox Church, they are always Greeks?

Mr. SALMON. Simply this: The reigning King of Greece does not call himself the King of Greece, but the King of the Greeks.

Mr. RAKER. And they also hold him out as the ideal wherever they go?

Mr. SALMON. That has come about, Mr. Congressman, in this way, due to the fact that the Greeks were in what is now called Turkey long before the Turks were there. The population of large sections of Asia Minor, Eastern Thrace, as well as Greece, was Greek. The Greeks have retained their allegiance to Hellenism during the 400 or 500 hundred years that they have been under Turkish subjugation, have clung to their national and religious feelings. They did that because they stuck tenaciously to their ideals; that is, they were Greeks first and they were citizens of the Turkish Empire second.

Mr. RAKER. Have they any of that stuff in them now, in this country, when they come over here and become American citizens?

Mr. SALMON. I would not say so; not here.

Mr. RAKER. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, this is quite a complete table that you have submitted, and I think that we had better place it in the record: There are 12 pages of it covering the Greeks in the United States. It is stated by the geographic divisions, the total population in the States, then it is divided into percentages of Greeks from the following countries: Russia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Turkey in Europe, Albania, Asia Minor, Palestine, Syria, and Turkey in Asia.

Then it is again divided into Greeks from Greece proper, Greeks from other countries, Greeks born in the United States, and the total from the census and other sources.

So you see, following the witness's own statement, when they speak of Greeks in the United States, and they become citizens of the United States, they divided themselves right away into people of other nationalities, who are considering themselves Greeks.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

GREEKS IN THE UNITED STATES.

[Compiled by Soterios Nicholson.]

Population of the United States, census of 1920, by geographic divisions.

| | Native and foreign born. | | | | | | | | Greeks. | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|------------|------------|---------|----------|-----------|------------|---------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|--|
| | Total. | White. | Negro. | Indian. | Chinese. | Japanese. | All other. | Foreign born. | From Greece proper (census of 1920). | From other countries, 1920. | Born in the United States (other sources), 1920. | Total from census and other sources, 1920. |
| New England..... | 7,400,909 | 7,316,079 | 79,061 | 1,715 | 3,602 | 347 | 115 | 1,870,654 | 32,186 | 3,592 | 24,222 | 60,000 |
| Middle Atlantic..... | 22,261,144 | 21,641,840 | 600,183 | 5,940 | 8,812 | 3,266 | 1,103 | 4,912,575 | 44,531 | 13,481 | 31,968 | 90,000 |
| South Atlantic..... | 13,990,272 | 9,648,940 | 4,325,120 | 13,673 | 1,824 | 360 | 355 | 315,920 | 11,449 | 964 | 17,567 | 30,000 |
| East North Central..... | 21,475,543 | 20,938,862 | 514,554 | 15,695 | 5,043 | 927 | 462 | 3,223,279 | 45,135 | 5,692 | 39,173 | 90,000 |
| East South Central..... | 8,893,307 | 6,367,547 | 2,523,532 | 1,623 | 542 | 35 | 28 | 71,939 | 2,014 | 225 | 3,761 | 6,000 |
| West North Central..... | 12,544,249 | 12,225,387 | 278,521 | 37,263 | 1,678 | 1,215 | 185 | 1,371,961 | 11,236 | 1,866 | 6,906 | 20,000 |
| West South Central..... | 10,242,224 | 8,115,727 | 2,063,579 | 60,618 | 1,534 | 578 | 188 | 459,333 | 3,483 | 459 | 2,667 | 6,000 |
| Mountain..... | 3,336,101 | 3,212,899 | 30,801 | 76,899 | 4,339 | 10,792 | 371 | 463,225 | 9,483 | 526 | 3,991 | 14,000 |
| Pacific..... | 5,566,871 | 5,353,634 | 47,790 | 31,011 | 34,265 | 93,490 | 6,681 | 1,033,868 | 16,455 | 1,198 | 16,347 | 34,000 |
| Total..... | 105,710,620 | 94,820,915 | 10,463,131 | 244,437 | 61,639 | 111,010 | 9,488 | 13,712,754 | 175,972 | 28,004 | 147,024 | 350,000 |

Greeks and other nationalities in the United States, by geographic division.

| | Popu- lation. | Total immigrants from— | | | | | | | | | Greeks. | | | |
|-------------------------|------------------|------------------------|----------|-----------|-------------------------|----------|----------------|-----------------|--------|--------------------|--|---|--|--|
| | | Russia. | Rumania. | Bulgaria. | Turkey in Europe. | Albania. | Asia Minor. | Pales- tine. | Syria. | Turkey in Asia. | From Greece proper (census of 1920). | From other coun- tries, 1920. | Born in the United States (other sources), 1920. | Total from census and other sources, 1920. |
| New England..... | 7,400,909 | 147,371 | 3,128 | 214 | 631 | 2,819 | 581 | 271 | 11,181 | 1,685 | 32,186 | 3,502 | 24,222 | 60,000 |
| Middle Atlantic..... | 22,261,144 | 763,891 | 35,910 | 1,336 | 2,534 | 1,156 | 814 | 1,489 | 15,501 | 3,521 | 44,531 | 13,481 | 31,988 | 90,000 |
| South Atlantic..... | 13,980,272 | 48,362 | 2,163 | 161 | 203 | 19 | 153 | 143 | 4,064 | 323 | 11,449 | 984 | 17,567 | 30,000 |
| East North Central..... | 21,475,543 | 236,022 | 29,338 | 3,806 | 1,035 | 1,019 | 422 | 662 | 9,726 | 1,676 | 45,125 | 5,692 | 39,173 | 90,000 |
| East South Central..... | 8,893,307 | 7,408 | 441 | 51 | 50 | 23 | 34 | 77 | 1,501 | 59 | 2,014 | 225 | 3,761 | 6,000 |
| West North Central..... | 12,544,249 | 110,766 | 6,960 | 1,095 | 124 | 262 | 86 | 142 | 3,405 | 237 | 11,236 | 1,966 | 6,996 | 20,000 |
| West South Central..... | 10,242,224 | 14,652 | 663 | 241 | 101 | 12 | 55 | 156 | 3,436 | 151 | 3,483 | 450 | 2,057 | 6,000 |
| Mountain..... | 3,336,101 | 26,690 | 1,063 | 821 | 72 | 143 | 47 | 73 | 1,324 | 143 | 9,493 | 526 | 3,991 | 14,000 |
| Pacific..... | 5,566,871 | 45,327 | 3,177 | 732 | 534 | 155 | 223 | 189 | 1,762 | 815 | 16,455 | 1,198 | 16,247 | 34,000 |
| Total..... | | 1,400,490 | 102,833 | 10,477 | 5,284 | 5,608 | 2,404 | 3,202 | 31,900 | 8,610 | 175,972 | 28,004 | 147,024 | 356,000 |

Greeks in the United States, by geographic division, with total population of divisions.

| | Popu- lation. | Countries. | | | | | | | | | Greeks. | | | |
|-------------------------|------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|---|------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|
| | | Russia (1 per cent). | Rumania (5 per cent). | Bulgaria (5 per cent). | Turkey in Europe (50 per cent). | Albania (25 per cent). | Asia Minor (50 per cent). | Palestine (5 per cent). | Syria (5 per cent). | Turkey in Asia (5 per cent). | From Greece proper (census), 1920. | From other countries (other sources), 1920. | Born in the United States (other sources), 1920. | Total from census and other sources, 1920. |
| New England..... | 7,400,909 | 1,473 | 155 | 10 | 315 | 704 | 290 | 10 | 555 | 80 | 32,186 | 3,502 | 24,222 | 60,000 |
| Middle Atlantic..... | 22,261,144 | 7,638 | 2,795 | 65 | 1,267 | 289 | 407 | 70 | 775 | 175 | 44,531 | 13,481 | 31,088 | 90,000 |
| South Atlantic..... | 13,990,272 | 483 | 106 | 5 | 101 | 4 | 66 | 5 | 200 | 15 | 11,449 | 984 | 17,567 | 30,000 |
| East North Central..... | 21,475,543 | 2,360 | 1,465 | 290 | 517 | 254 | 211 | 30 | 485 | 80 | 45,135 | 5,622 | 39,173 | 90,000 |
| East South Central..... | 8,893,307 | 74 | 20 | 2 | 25 | 5 | 17 | 4 | 75 | 3 | 2,014 | 225 | 3,761 | 6,000 |
| West North Central..... | 12,644,249 | 1,107 | 345 | 50 | 62 | 65 | 42 | 5 | 170 | 10 | 11,286 | 1,856 | 6,908 | 20,000 |
| West South Central..... | 10,242,224 | 146 | 30 | 110 | 50 | 3 | 27 | 7 | 170 | 7 | 3,483 | 450 | 2,087 | 6,000 |
| Mountain..... | 3,336,101 | 266 | 50 | 40 | 36 | 35 | 23 | 4 | 65 | 7 | 9,483 | 526 | 3,991 | 14,000 |
| Pacific..... | 5,566,871 | 453 | 135 | 35 | 267 | 38 | 116 | 9 | 85 | 40 | 16,455 | 1,198 | 16,347 | 34,000 |
| Total..... | ..... | 14,000 | 5,120 | 507 | 2,640 | 1,397 | 1,199 | 144 | 2,580 | 417 | 175,972 | 28,004 | 147,024 | 330,000 |

Greeks in the United States, by geographic division with total population of States.

| | Popu- lation. | Countries. | | | | | | | | | Greeks. | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|---|------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|
| | | Russia (1 per cent). | Rumania (5 per cent). | Bulgaria (5 per cent). | Turkey in Europe (50 per cent). | Albania (25 per cent). | Asia Minor (50 per cent). | Palestine (5 per cent). | Syria (5 per cent). | Turkey in Asia (5 per cent). | From Greece proper (census), 1920. | From other countries (other sources), 1920. | Born in the United States (other sources), 1920. | Total from census and other sources, 1920. |
| NEW ENGLAND. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Maine..... | 768,014 | 3,763 | 67 | 5 | 66 | 403 | 21 | 10 | 627 | 22 | 1,228 | 217 | 2,555 | 4,000 |
| New Hampshire..... | 443,063 | 3,467 | 25 | 8 | ..... | 118 | 16 | 7 | 523 | 44 | 5,280 | 91 | 6,620 | 12,000 |
| Vermont..... | 332,428 | 1,333 | 19 | 3 | ..... | 6 | 4 | 1 | 228 | 1 | 167 | 31 | 802 | 1,000 |
| Massachusetts..... | 3,832,356 | 92,034 | 1,445 | 120 | 451 | 1,947 | 424 | 180 | 7,128 | 1,247 | 20,441 | 2,364 | 7,195 | 30,000 |
| Rhode Island..... | 604,397 | 8,055 | 370 | 45 | 45 | 142 | 58 | 14 | 1,285 | 204 | 1,219 | 261 | 2,520 | 4,000 |
| Connecticut..... | 38,719 | 1,202 | 33 | 69 | ..... | 203 | 58 | 59 | 1,390 | 167 | 3,851 | 628 | 4,521 | 9,000 |
| Total..... | ..... | 147,371 | 3,128 | 214 | 631 | 2,819 | 581 | 271 | 11,181 | 1,685 | 32,186 | 3,592 | 24,222 | 60,000 |
| MIDDLE ATLANTIC. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| New York..... | 10,385,227 | 529,240 | 40,116 | 614 | 2,050 | 415 | 554 | 1,061 | 8,127 | 2,646 | 26,117 | 9,324 | 14,559 | 50,000 |
| New Jersey..... | 3,155,900 | 73,527 | 4,564 | 66 | 195 | 34 | 106 | 160 | 2,082 | 334 | 4,521 | 1,254 | 1,225 | 7,000 |
| Pennsylvania..... | 8,720,017 | 161,124 | 11,230 | 656 | 289 | 687 | 134 | 268 | 5,312 | 541 | 13,893 | 2,903 | 16,204 | 33,000 |
| Total..... | ..... | 763,801 | 55,910 | 1,336 | 2,534 | 1,156 | 814 | 1,489 | 15,501 | 3,521 | 44,531 | 13,481 | 31,988 | 90,000 |
| SOUTH ATLANTIC. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Delaware..... | 223,033 | 2,244 | 110 | ..... | 3 | ..... | ..... | 10 | 2 | 6 | 286 | 30 | 684 | 1,000 |
| Maryland..... | 1,449,661 | 24,791 | 537 | 18 | 19 | 1 | 22 | 15 | 72 | 17 | 964 | 301 | 1,735 | 3,000 |
| District of Columbia..... | 437,571 | 5,181 | 86 | 5 | 72 | 8 | 34 | 19 | 711 | 28 | 1,207 | 121 | 1,672 | 3,000 |
| Virginia..... | 2,309,187 | 5,421 | 165 | 17 | 32 | 4 | 23 | 23 | 350 | 54 | 1,796 | 120 | 1,084 | 3,000 |
| West Virginia..... | 1,483,701 | 3,911 | 625 | 96 | 23 | 2 | 15 | 20 | 1,235 | 142 | 3,186 | 161 | 653 | 4,000 |
| North Carolina..... | 2,559,123 | 932 | 31 | 1 | 17 | ..... | 4 | 22 | 592 | 19 | 551 | 51 | 2,896 | 3,500 |
| South Carolina..... | 1,683,724 | 1,187 | 26 | 1 | 10 | ..... | 6 | 2 | 396 | 1 | 578 | 33 | 1,889 | 2,500 |
| Georgia..... | 2,895,532 | 3,452 | 111 | 5 | 21 | 1 | 16 | 16 | 473 | 33 | 1,473 | 75 | 3,452 | 5,000 |
| Florida..... | 966,470 | 1,243 | 472 | 16 | 6 | 3 | 15 | 16 | 533 | 23 | 1,408 | 92 | 3,500 | 5,000 |
| Total..... | ..... | 48,362 | 2,163 | 161 | 203 | 19 | 133 | 143 | 4,064 | 323 | 11,449 | 984 | 17,567 | 30,000 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------|----------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------|------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| EAST NORTH CENTRAL. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ohio..... | 5,759,394 | 43,990 | 13,068 | 2,535 | 569 | 432 | 145 | 185 | 3,680 | 492 | 13,540 | 1,898 | 9,562 | 25,000 |
| Indiana..... | 2,930,390 | 7,673 | 2,731 | 431 | 70 | 74 | 33 | 26 | 717 | 125 | 4,182 | 340 | 478 | 5,000 |
| Illinois..... | 6,485,240 | 117,899 | 6,238 | 940 | 181 | 151 | 75 | 232 | 1,148 | 427 | 16,465 | 1,793 | 16,742 | 25,000 |
| Michigan..... | 3,668,412 | 45,313 | 6,331 | 1,692 | 179 | 261 | 126 | 176 | 3,048 | 537 | 7,115 | 1,259 | 11,566 | 20,000 |
| Wisconsin..... | 2,632,253 | 21,447 | 970 | 208 | 36 | 101 | 43 | 43 | 532 | 95 | 3,533 | 372 | 795 | 5,000 |
| Total..... | | 236,022 | 29,338 | 5,406 | 1,035 | 1,019 | 422 | 662 | 9,726 | 1,676 | 45,135 | 5,692 | 39,173 | 90,000 |
| EAST SOUTH CENTRAL. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Kentucky..... | 2,416,630 | 2,736 | 192 | 28 | 22 | 1 | 6 | 16 | 309 | 16 | 401 | 73 | 1,026 | 1,500 |
| Tennessee..... | 2,337,885 | 2,282 | 93 | 5 | 5 | 22 | 15 | 30 | 127 | 5 | 491 | 49 | 980 | 1,500 |
| Alabama..... | 2,348,176 | 1,582 | 120 | 18 | 22 | | 11 | 16 | 482 | 28 | 915 | 65 | 1,020 | 2,000 |
| Mississippi..... | 1,790,618 | 828 | 36 | | 1 | | 2 | 15 | 583 | 10 | 207 | 38 | 785 | 1,000 |
| Total..... | | 7,408 | 441 | 51 | 50 | 23 | 34 | 77 | 1,501 | 59 | 2,014 | 225 | 3,761 | 6,000 |
| WEST NORTH CENTRAL. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Minnesota..... | 2,387,125 | 16,100 | 2,385 | 456 | 30 | 41 | 36 | 25 | 818 | 64 | 2,391 | 390 | 719 | 3,500 |
| Iowa..... | 2,404,021 | 7,319 | 297 | 260 | 18 | 7 | 10 | 22 | 512 | 41 | 2,884 | 145 | 471 | 3,500 |
| Missouri..... | 3,404,055 | 18,769 | 1,647 | 145 | 44 | 202 | 21 | 63 | 848 | 62 | 3,022 | 407 | 3,571 | 7,000 |
| North Dakota..... | 646,872 | 29,617 | 1,811 | 31 | 17 | | 3 | 5 | 289 | 18 | 420 | 413 | 167 | 1,000 |
| South Dakota..... | 636,547 | 11,193 | 154 | 97 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 265 | 9 | 375 | 141 | 484 | 1,000 |
| Nebraska..... | 1,296,372 | 15,718 | 371 | 61 | 4 | 9 | 8 | 14 | 414 | 20 | 1,504 | 207 | 1,289 | 3,000 |
| Kansas..... | 1,769,257 | 12,060 | 285 | 36 | 6 | 2 | 4 | 12 | 259 | 23 | 640 | 153 | 207 | 1,000 |
| Total..... | | 110,766 | 6,950 | 1,095 | 124 | 262 | 85 | 142 | 3,405 | 237 | 11,236 | 1,856 | 6,908 | 20,000 |
| WEST SOUTH CENTRAL. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Arkansas..... | 1,752,204 | 662 | 62 | 17 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 16 | 213 | 8 | 277 | 21 | 202 | 500 |
| Louisiana..... | 1,798,599 | 1,925 | 93 | 49 | 14 | 2 | 1 | 15 | 954 | 60 | 610 | 82 | 308 | 1,000 |
| Oklahoma..... | 2,028,283 | 5,035 | 65 | 105 | 11 | 1 | 7 | 20 | 691 | 14 | 619 | 102 | 279 | 1,000 |
| Texas..... | 4,693,226 | 7,057 | 443 | 70 | 75 | 8 | 45 | 105 | 1,578 | 69 | 1,977 | 245 | 1,278 | 3,500 |
| Total..... | | 14,652 | 663 | 241 | 101 | 12 | 55 | 156 | 3,436 | 151 | 3,493 | 450 | 2,087 | 6,000 |

Greeks in the United States, by geographic division with total population of States—Continued.

| | | Popula- tion. | Countries. | | | | | | | | Greeks. | | | |
|-----------------|-----------|------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|---|------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|--|--|
| | | | Russia (1 per cent). | Rumania (5 per cent). | Bulgaria (5 per cent). | Turkey in Europe (50 per cent). | Albania (25 per cent). | Asia Minor (50 per cent). | Palestine (5 per cent). | Syria (5 per cent). | Turkey in Asia (5 per cent). | From Greece proper (census), 1920. | From other countries (other sources), 1920. | Born in the United States (other sources), 1920. |
| MOUNTAIN. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Montana..... | 548,889 | 5,203 | 344 | 264 | 28 | 38 | 9 | 8 | 192 | 53 | 1,465 | 122 | 413 | 2,000 |
| Idaho..... | 431,866 | 1,456 | 104 | 39 | 5 | 42 | 8 | 1 | 49 | 7 | 716 | 29 | 745 | 1,500 |
| Wyoming..... | 194,402 | 1,482 | 71 | 72 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 82 | 20 | 1,236 | 29 | 735 | 2,000 |
| Colorado..... | 939,629 | 16,669 | 394 | 349 | 12 | 11 | 6 | 41 | 289 | 24 | 1,802 | 249 | 456 | 2,500 |
| New Mexico..... | 380,350 | 254 | 8 | 18 | 2 | ..... | 2 | 2 | 138 | 3 | 288 | 15 | 197 | 500 |
| Arizona..... | 324,162 | 816 | 51 | 28 | 10 | 6 | 8 | 8 | 327 | 7 | 329 | 37 | 134 | 500 |
| Utah..... | 449,386 | 684 | 69 | 30 | 12 | 41 | 8 | 5 | 174 | 10 | 3,029 | 39 | 822 | 4,000 |
| Nevada..... | 77,407 | 124 | 12 | 21 | 1 | ..... | 1 | 4 | 13 | 19 | 618 | 5 | 377 | 1,000 |
| Total..... | ..... | 26,690 | 1,083 | 821 | 72 | 143 | 47 | 72 | 1,324 | 163 | 9,468 | 526 | 3,991 | 14,000 |
| PACIFIC. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Washington..... | 1,356,621 | 11,124 | 422 | 267 | 229 | 93 | 42 | 18 | 318 | 246 | 4,214 | 330 | 1,456 | 6,000 |
| Oregon..... | 783,389 | 6,979 | 332 | 214 | 41 | 13 | 15 | 5 | 185 | 41 | 1,928 | 126 | 936 | 3,000 |
| California..... | 3,426,861 | 27,224 | 2,403 | 271 | 264 | 49 | 176 | 166 | 1,269 | 528 | 10,313 | 722 | 13,955 | 25,000 |
| Total..... | ..... | 45,327 | 3,177 | 752 | 534 | 155 | 233 | 189 | 1,762 | 815 | 16,455 | 1,196 | 16,347 | 34,000 |

Citizenship status of foreign-born whites, 21 years of age and over, by birth.

[Census of 1920.]

| Country of birth. | Foreign-born whites 21 years of age and over. | | | | | | Greeks. | | | |
|-----------------------|---|--------------|-----------|----------------------|---------|---------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---|---------------------------|
| | Total. | Naturalized. | | Having first papers. | Aliens. | Citizenship not reported. | From other countries. | | Born in the United States, irrespective of age. | |
| | | Number. | Per cent. | | | | Per cent. | Number (private sources). | Geographic divisions. | Number (private sources). |
| Russia..... | 1,211,337 | 509,561 | 42.1 | 134,530 | 521,448 | 45,798 | 1 | 5,095 | New England..... | 24,222 |
| Rumania..... | 92,117 | 38,880 | 42.2 | 12,338 | 37,465 | 3,436 | 5 | 1,943 | Middle Atlantic..... | 31,968 |
| Bulgaria..... | 9,964 | 1,167 | 11.7 | 1,697 | 6,660 | 440 | 5 | 57 | South Atlantic..... | 17,567 |
| Turkey in Europe..... | 4,601 | 968 | 21.0 | 655 | 2,805 | 173 | 50 | 464 | East North Central.... | 39,173 |
| Albania..... | 5,080 | 370 | 7.3 | 507 | 4,100 | 113 | 25 | 92 | East South Central.... | 3,761 |
| Asia Minor..... | 2,140 | 736 | 34.4 | 301 | 995 | 108 | 50 | 368 | West North Central.... | 6,906 |
| Palestine..... | 2,539 | 973 | 38.3 | 343 | 1,056 | 165 | 5 | 48 | West South Central.... | 2,067 |
| Syria..... | 46,575 | 14,057 | 30.2 | 5,872 | 24,251 | 2,395 | 5 | 702 | Mountain..... | 3,991 |
| Turkey in Asia..... | 7,623 | 1,732 | 22.7 | 824 | 4,691 | 376 | 5 | 87 | Pacific..... | 16,347 |
| Greece..... | 161,515 | 28,129 | 17.4 | 21,044 | 105,353 | 6,989 | | | | |
| Total..... | 1,543,501 | 596,573 | 38.6 | 178,109 | 708,826 | 59,993 | | 8,876 | | 147,024 |

Greek citizens:

From—

Greece proper (census of 1920).....

Other countries.....

Born in United States.....

Total.....

28,129

8,628

147,024

184,029

Mr. RAKER. The most remarkable thing that has been developed in these hearings, according to my mind, is the fact that while the Government of the United States has failed to do so, each one of these nationalities has maintained a minute record and classification of their own people. Do you not think that that is a remarkable thing, Mr. Salmon?

Mr. SALMON. Well, I can not say that this is a minute record. This is an attempt to show and equalize the census record with the Greek's idea as to the number of Greeks that there are here. You will notice that they include American born, and there have been 175,000 people of the Greek race born in the United States who are American citizens—

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman, what is the purpose of this table?

The CHAIRMAN. This table, the witness states, is entitled "Greeks in the United States," compiled by Soterios Nicholson, an American citizen.

Mr. SALMON. Mr. Nicholson is an attorney located in the Southern Building, Washington, D. C. He served as a captain through the war in the American Army and has been an American citizen for some years. Of course, he can explain that table very much better to the committee than I can myself.

Mr. FREE. Is he of Greek extraction?

Mr. SALMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. I want to ask the witness, Mr. Chairman, have you any statement to make on the subject of the statement of the preceding witness, Mr. Stoddard, as to the probability of 25,000,000 refugees from Anatolia within the period of time he stated?

Mr. BOX. He did not say Anatolia.

Mr. WHITE. Well, he said Turkey.

Mr. BOX. He said Levant. He said Russia, that whole region, including all the Balkans and all of the rest of that territory in there.

Mr. WHITE. I did not understand him so, Mr. BOX, because he was asked about the Balkan States, as I remember, afterwards.

Mr. BOX. He was first asked if the bill would admit all those refugees, and, second, what he thought the possible number of inhabitants of the region he had been discussing—the Near East—and the possible number of refugees from that section might be.

Mr. WHITE. Well, Mr. BOX, my understanding of the gentleman's statement was that it covered the refugees from Turkish territory in Asia—

Mr. SALMON (interposing). I should say, if I may be permitted to, that my recollection is that he referred to the Near East, and the Near East is a very easily defined term, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you define it, calling out the countries?

Mr. SALMON. The Near East includes Greece, Turkey, Rumania, the southern part of Russia, and the countries surrounding the Black Sea.

The CHAIRMAN. What are the names of those countries?

Mr. SALMON. You will pardon me, sir, but they change so much, and so rapidly, that it is hard to tell.

The CHAIRMAN. This map was made in 1921.

Mr. SALMON. It includes the territory surrounding the Black Sea, Turkey—

Mr. RAKER. Turkey in Asia?

Mr. SALMON. Turkey in Asia, and Turkey in Europe.

The CHAIRMAN. Georgia?

Mr. SALMON. Georgia, Armenia, Rumania.

Mr. BOX. Egypt?

Mr. SALMON. Kurdistan.

The CHAIRMAN. Anything else?

Mr. BOX. Did not he include Egypt?

Mr. SALMON. Syria, Egypt, yes.

Mr. WHITE. Did you hear the statements of Mr. Stoddard? What did you think of them?

Mr. SALMON. Well, answering your question, I want to say that no man in his right mind would make such a statement, and I would like to amplify that a little bit. One of the three books which Mr. Stoddard said he had written, and I have read them carefully, is in the main, a statement to the effect that there is going to be a great Mohammedan movement which will result eventually in a religious war, and his fear is that the Mohammedans are going to wipe the white race off the earth.

Mr. WHITE. It is a chimerical theory.

Mr. SALMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. It might be designated as a signet of the brain.

Mr. SALMON. I agree with you entirely.

Mr. WHITE. I want to ask you this question: Do you know of any of the Balkan States now established, the free States, failing in getting their freedom from the Ottoman Empire?

Mr. SALMON. I do not.

Mr. WHITE. You do not?

Mr. SALMON. No, sir.

Mr. WHITE. I want to ask you this question: Is it not true that the Turkish Government is a government of Islamism?

Mr. SALMON. It is.

Mr. WHITE. Is it also not true that each country subjugated and brought under Ottoman control is immediately Islamized as rapidly as it is possible to do so?

Mr. SALMON. No; I would not say that.

Mr. WHITE. Well, has not that been past history?

Mr. SALMON. No, sir. In the past the Turks have permitted the Christians to maintain their own form of religion except that when the Christians began to be prosperous or too numerous the Turks found some way of exterminating enough of them so that they always hold control. The Turks wished the Christians present there to do the work. The Turk wants to be a tax collector, policeman, soldier, petty Government official, grafter.

If you will pardon me, may I amplify that just a little bit?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SALMON. In Angora recently the Government has decreed that Turkey, being a Mohammedan country, the Christians should not be permitted to establish themselves there. They will welcome Christian corporations, like Americans, English, French, having capital to invest, but they have recently, by decree, issued at Angora, decreed that the Christian companies, banks, or other organizations must employ 100 per cent Turkish staffs. In other words, you can go over there and invest your money, but you must employ Turks.

Mr. WHITE. I want to ask the witness this question: Do you regard the expulsion of the foreign population, the Greeks, Armenians, and other non-Turk peoples from the Province of Smyrna as a commercial proposition or as in line with their ancient, and present, policy of religious intolerance and national hatred?

Mr. SALMON. I think that national hatred is first.

Mr. WHITE. First?

Mr. SALMON. Yes. Religious intolerance is probably a secondary matter.

Mr. WHITE. And those you regard as the predominating inspirations for this movement?

Mr. SALMON. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. And the Turkish justification therefor?

Mr. SALMON. The Koran says if your infidel neighbor—and, the Koran is the Turkish law, not only their religious, but civil law—the Koran says, if your infidel neighbors live with you in peace and do not trouble you in any way, let them live, but if they trouble you—mind you, that word "trouble" is an elastic term—if they trouble you, take any measures you see fit.

Mr. WHITE. Well, those are the statements I wish to bring out. I just want to ask you one more question in passing.

Mr. Box. I want to ask you a question about the Koran. Are additions being made to that book, or is it just as it was published several hundred years ago?

Mr. SALMON. Well, I think in a way it is possibly the same as the Bible. A translation made to-day of the Koran might be somewhat different from a translation made several hundred years ago.

Mr. Box. But it is a closed book, was a closed book several hundred years ago?

Mr. SALMON. It is a closed book; yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. I want to ask you one further question. Now, this is known to everyone, and I base this question on that common knowledge that the French and the Italians have secured very important concessions in Mesopotamia and other parts of the Ottoman Empire in Asia. Is there the same prejudices against what might just as aptly be designated as parasitical tendencies; is there the same prejudices against those investments and those commercial adventures there under those concessions, which have been obtained by the French and Italians, as the former witness claims was directed against these residents of Smyrna in their treatment?

Mr. SALMON. I do not think so.

Mr. WHITE. You think not?

Mr. SALMON. No, sir; because the Turk has made his bargain when he gave these concessions and he has had value received.

Mr. WHITE. That is what I understood, but I wanted to hear your statement on that.

Mr. SALMON. I would like to add to that that the Turks at the present time have taken the stand that no more concessions will be given to anyone, to any company, except companies organized under Turkish law, in which the Turks shall control 51 per cent of the stock and the foreigner shall not control to exceed 49 per cent.

Mr. RAKER. We are doing the same thing here in America?

Mr. SALMON. But the conditions are different.

Mr. RAKER. We are doing the same thing.

Mr. WHITE. Certainly, we are doing that; but that is not the question.

Mr. SALMON. Conditions are different in Turkey. Turkey must have foreign capital, foreign brains, foreign engineers, in order to develop her resources. No Turk ever contributed one iota to the progress of his country. The progress of Turkey, such as she has had, has been by foreigners. A Turk may imitate, may adopt; but if he wants a real piece of construction work, he has to go to Europe or America to get the brains and the capital.

Mr. WHITE. I would like to ask this question, Mr. Salmon, if in your opinion, your judgment, has the fact that these very extensive concessions in Turkey are owned by the Italians and French nationals and capitalists anything to do with the withdrawal of French support from the Greeks and the mandate they were given in Smyrna?

Mr. SALMON. It has been absolutely the fundamental ground of the French policy.

Mr. RAKER. That is not very clear to me; just what do you mean by that?

Mr. SALMON. I mean that the French policy in Asia Minor—

Mr. RAKER (Interposing). Do you understand the question as it is down in the record?

Mr. SALMON. I do.

Mr. FREE. I would like to get an answer, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SALMON. I say that was a reason—

Mr. FREE. You did not complete your answer.

Mr. SALMON. I beg your pardon.

The French policy in Asia Minor has been based very largely upon the fact that the French are large owners of the bonds of the Ottoman Empire, and under the second treaty made by Franklin Bouillon, France was given certain concessions and rights, and given a free hand in Syria. That treaty has been published.

Mr. FREE. What was that treaty?

Mr. SALMON. The treaty made between Franklin Bouillon and the Angora Government.

Mr. FREE. When was that treaty?

Mr. SALMON. I think that that treaty was made—I can not give you the exact date; the negotiations covered quite a little time.

Mr. RAKER. In other words, we are sending money over for the relief of the sufferers in Russia and Syria, and supplies to the Allies, and that gold; those supplies are finding their way into the hands of the people that are bringing about these conditions.

Mr. SALMON. I think that that is a fairly accurate statement of the situation, sir.

Mr. WHITE. I want to make it plain to the committee and to Mr. Salmon that this committee has no such policy and is not doing that.

The CHAIRMAN. No. Do you have anything further to ask the witness?

Mr. Bortoli wants some more time.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENT OF MR. THEO BORTOLI.

Mr. Box. Mr. Chairman, I want to ask one question. I do not want to take the witness away from Mr. White. He is Mr. White's witness in a sense.

The CHAIRMAN. Ask him anything that you want to.

Mr. Box. I want to ask him a question in connection with a question that he was asked in the beginning and in justice to the witness as well as to myself. What I want to ask you is whether or not you are connected in any way with the Greek Legation.

Mr. BORTOLI. I want to say that I am not connected in any way with the Greek Legation. I went to the Greek Legation twice after coming, the same as

to legations of other countries, and saw Mr. Ruras, and I went to the Greek Legation to ask for information about the present conditions. Now, maybe the question has reference to and you want an answer to the question as to whether I am supported by the Greek Legation. I will reply that I am not.

Mr. Box. What I want to know is whether you have any connection whatever with the Greek Legation.

Mr. BORTOLI. As I started to say, I have lived in Nice, and I had a very dear friend that lived there, a Mr. Bullow, an American composer. I have known him for years, and he is ready to support me in every way. I am not making any Greek propaganda or Armenian propaganda. I am working as a Christian, and I am working because I saw what happened and because I think that it is my duty to do it. There is no connection between me and the Greek Legation.

Mr. Box. You made the statement to individual members of the committee—when you were talking to us last week you said that the Greek Legation had thanked you. That was in the press reports, but you say that you have no connection with the Greek Legation.

Mr. BORTOLI. No, sir. I am sorry for this. The Greek Government, as I say, sent thanks to me for this address. I replied to the Greek Government that I was not working especially for the Greeks but for every Christian, for those Christians who had been driven out of Turkey.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute. Let us put into the record this clipping from the Washington (D. C.) Star of Friday, December 14:

"Mr. Theodore Bortoli, recently assigned to the Greek Legation, has arrived in Washington and is staying at the Hamilton Hotel."

That statement you deny?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir; I absolutely deny that.

The CHAIRMAN. And you say that you did not make any statement of that kind?

Mr. BORTOLI. I did not make a statement of that kind, Mr. Chairman. I have no connection with the Greek Legation.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Box, have you finished with your questions?

Mr. Box. Yes. I wanted to know whether or not he had any connection with the Greek Legation.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask the previous witness whether he has been paid for doing certain services.

Mr. SALMON. I think you must have misunderstood me, Mr. Chairman. I do not want to be misunderstood. I said that they paid my expenses for one month at Williamstown.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the Greek Legation give you any credentials of any kind?

Mr. SALMON. They did not, except a letter to the secretary of the institute at Williamstown.

Mr. RAKER. What was that meeting for?

Mr. SALMON. It is a general conference for the purpose of discussing various political affairs. I went there because they had no one in the legation available at the time that was familiar with the affairs in the Near East. I was asked by the Greek Legation because I had lived there and I had made a study of the situation.

Mr. RAKER. You were there in what capacity—as a citizen of the United States?

Mr. SALMON. Yes, sir; as a citizen of the United States. Of course, you understand this whole proceeding at Williamstown was entirely an informal matter.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, you were there, and you were paid by the Greek Legation for performing the services for them.

Mr. SALMON. I do not want the committee to misunderstand me. I was not paid.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you instructed in any way by them as to what to do?

Mr. SALMON. I was not.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe that is all.

Mr. WHITE. I do not care to ask any more questions.

Mr. Box. I took the witness, Mr. Bortoli, away from Mr. White, just as he started his statement. I merely wanted to call the attention of Mr. White to the fact that he is entitled to the witness.

Mr. WHITE. Just now?

Mr. BOX. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. Well, I had nothing special.

Mr. BORTOLI. May I add, in answer to the question, that my only connection with the Greek Embassy is embraced in the statement which I have handed to Mr. Johnson, and the same thing which I am handing to Mr. White.

Mr. BOX. Where are you stopping?

Mr. BORTOLI. At the Hotel Hamilton.

Mr. BOX. So that part of the press dispatch is correct?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir; but I do not know how the Hotel Hamilton got the impression that I was connected with the Greek Legation in any way. It is true that a member of the Greek Legation thanked me on the part of the Greek Government for the endeavors I was making for the refugees.

Mr. BOX. That a representative on the part of the Greek Government came to thank you for the efforts that you are making here?

Mr. BORTOLI. Absolutely; but I have no connection whatever with the Greek Embassy. I am not making any Greek propaganda, or any Armenian propaganda, or any other propaganda. I am simply endeavoring to have this great country understand the position of those refugees and see if they can be helped.

Mr. RAKER. Who is with you—associated with you as Americans—in this effort to put this thing before the committee?

Mr. BORTOLI. I am associated with no organization, whatever, but I came in connection with the conference on immigration policy, which is working on exactly the same thing, and they asked me to address a dinner.

Mr. RAKER. What was the conference on?

Mr. BORTOLI. The conference was on immigration.

Mr. WHITE. So, Mr. Bortoli, you did not come in contact with anyone else?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes; and I also have some other correspondence.

Mr. RAKER. You were met by the authorities of the organization, by a committee?

Mr. BORTOLI. I was met by Miss Mary Hurlbutt, of New York, and she asked me to attend, to state what had been done and what the conditions were.

Mr. RAKER. And, you explained this matter to the newspaper men.

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. And did you give them a written statement?

Mr. BORTOLI. No, sir I only made a statement to them, which has been carried in the newspapers. I can give you, I think, a clipping.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the newspapers took that up and broadcasted it?

Mr. BORTOLI. Absolutely; but I gave them no statement, or made no statement in writing.

Mr. RAKER. Who engineered that meeting for this dinner?

Mr. BORTOLI. The Y. W. O. A. that very same day of my arrival.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to say this for the information of those present: That Miss Hurlbutt and others of that organization have twice arranged to be present ahead of this witness, and twice have asked to have the meeting postponed, and it is expected that they will be here Tuesday.

Mr. RAKER. Who paid for you?

Mr. BORTOLI. The Y. W. O. A. asked me. I came at my own expense.

First of all I want to make it clear to the gentlemen of this committee that, although my factory in Smyrna was burned, I do not think that I will starve. I have three life-insurance policies, of my mother's and sisters', amounting to 2,500,000 francs, which will be paid; and if I stay in this country—in America, which I will—I have some property which I will bring to this country, so I am not in a position where I will have to ask for help from anybody, because even what I do get I will give half of to the refugees. I want to make this statement, and I want to say that I am not connected in any way with any of the embassies. I have received a letter from the Argentine embassy.

Mr. WHITE. We are very glad to have that statement made, Mr. Bortoli.

Mr. RAKER. Who was instrumental and behind the petition that is being sent to Congress by the many ministers?

Mr. BORTOLI. By the many ministers—I do not know. I want to tell you this, that as soon as I left the immigration station in Boston I went just as soon as I could—I went and took out my first papers, first citizenship papers.

After I went to see Mrs. Nathaniel Thayer, who is the chief of the immigration bureau at the Statehouse in Boston, and have fought the matter over with

her, and having explained the matter of the refugees in Smyrna, in Boston to see if she could do anything for them.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of these refugees are now at our ports waiting to get in?

Mr. BORTOLI. I could not make any exact statement there. I went to see Mr. White, the Undersecretary, and who told me there were 200 of these refugees waiting a month ago, but out of that number there are only 45 remaining.

Mr. RAKER. Who suggested citizenship to you?

Mr. BORTOLI. No, sir; I said immediately I did not want to have anything to do with my country any more. I see France, Italy, and Smyrna, and I am very sorry to say—

Mr. RAKER (interposing). But you got in the United States temporarily and expected to be deported, did you not?

Mr. BORTOLI. I never expected to be deported; I have not been deported.

Mr. TREE. Who helped you get in?

Mr. BORTOLI. My friend Mr. Barlow; and the matter has been recommended, and, I think, as I was known for years, there has been an exception made for me.

Mr. TREE. Did the Greek legation help you?

Mr. BORTOLI. No, sir; the Greek legation did not help me; I never knew Mr. Vouros was stationed here.

Mr. TREE. I know; but Mr. Barlow—who is he?

Mr. BORTOLI. He is an American composer.

Mr. TREE. How did you know him?

Mr. BORTOLI. I happened to know him in France during the various times when I was there with my mother, sisters, and niece.

Mr. RAKER. The fact is you are the man who has traveled around a good deal?

Mr. BORTOLI. My business obliged me to travel.

Mr. RAKER. You have been in Paris and did business there, as well as in London?

Mr. BORTOLI. I was there on business with France, England, Argentina, and with America. But I was not doing any business in France.

The CHAIRMAN. We will now take a recess until 2 o'clock.

(Thereupon, at 12.25 o'clock p. m., the committee took a recess until 12 o'clock this afternoon.)

AFTER RECESS.

The committee reconvened at the expiration of the recess.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order. Mr. Bortoli is ready to resume his statement. Mr. White will ask him questions, if he wishes.

Mr. WHITE. I do not care to develop anything further, Mr. Chairman. My purpose in bringing Mr. Bortoli before this committee is to simply establish the extent of this emergency in its practical character, and I think, Mr. Chairman, we have the permission of the committee to insert that part of his written statement; and I do not press Mr. Bortoli to continue at all unless the other members of the committee want it.

Mr. RAKER. Has he stated all the general substance of what he desires to state to the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. Is this statement you have just handed me your statement?

STATEMENT OF MR. THEODORE BORTOLI—Resumed.

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir; that is for you personally, Mr. Johnson, just to make the situation clearer.

Mr. WHITE. I want to ask Mr. Bortoli this question: Mr. Bortoli submitted to me a statement which he had filed with the office of the Secretary of State, did you not?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. That is, narrating the circumstances of this horrible massacre.

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. Is it your purpose to insert a statement covering that ground in the record?

Mr. BORTOLI. I gave that as information, but I have not the permission of the State Department to make it public. But, of course, the Congress wishes to know what happened there.

Mr. WHITE. I would inquire of the chairman, possibly there would be some impropriety, would there? Of course, the members of the committee and the Congress have access to this statement?

The CHAIRMAN. We had present here the other day the chief of the Near East Division of the State Department, Mr. Dules.

Mr. WHITE. Not on this particular bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, on the bill ahead of it, in which he discussed the emergency and withheld certain statements, but spoke of information and cablegrams received pertaining to it.

Mr. RAKER. From your information now obtained at the conference in Switzerland, it looks as though they are going to provide for the various nationalities to return to Turkey and certain territories in Turkey, both in Asia and in Europe, does it not?

Mr. BORTOLI. I understand that. In my opinion, it would be a crime against civilization to send those people back to slaughter.

Mr. RAKER. Do you say the territory should be turned over to them and that they should be permitted to go to the various localities and conduct themselves as, of course, under the general law any other persons would be required to conduct themselves; does not that look as though it would relieve the situation very rapidly?

Mr. BORTOLI. Allow me to tell you that if the Turk was to be permitted to govern those territories without a power, such as America or England, to impose the conditions and be ready to back the demand, that the Turk will begin to massacre and do what he did. First of all, those Christians who have had experience in Smyrna will not be ready to go back if the Turk is to be the ruler.

Mr. RAKER. Why not?

Mr. BORTOLI. Would you believe, sir, that I will be ready to go back to Smyrna?

The CHAIRMAN. You were not a native of Smyrna, to begin with.

Mr. RAKER. Well, yes; they can not keep you from going there. When the time comes and the conditions are right, what you say about not being ready to go back will mean nothing; you will go to Smyrna just as soon as things are adjusted. You may not go back to live permanently, but you will go back.

Mr. BORTOLI. I will go back to get the bodies of my mother and sisters, but never to remain.

The CHAIRMAN. I would say the Armenian people, if I am able to sense this at all, are in a way helpless over there; and they are a mixed people and they feel that the efforts to maintain homes are unavailing. So they are becoming in the position of the Jews of the world, and their hope is the United States.

Mr. BORTOLI. The hope of all those refugees is in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. You have said the whole thing. "The hope of all those refugees is in the United States."

Mr. BORTOLI. The only hope. That does not mean that America should take them all in. But America, which has shown herself as the only Nation who will protect them.

Mr. RAKER. Tell us how you are going to do this, with the awful condition we have here now, with so many alien people in our country. It is not that we are against them coming in reasonable numbers, under certain proper conditions, etc. But why is it that so many of them here are ready and willing to violate our laws and are ready and willing to destroy the Government that makes it possible? One of the things to-day that is concerning the American people and the American Government is the fact that it has got to protect and prepare to save itself as against the aliens that are here now.

Mr. BORTOLI. I think that America which was an ally of the European powers—

The CHAIRMAN (Interposing). No; it was not; we were not an ally. We went in to help the Allies.

Mr. BORTOLI. But you have helped us from the destruction.

The CHAIRMAN. All that has been done, and you are right here in the middle of a problem which is just about to break, which was to be the demand of large numbers of employers of the great labor units for the admission of more laborers, and they have been complaining this last year that our quota bill admitted the dependents and kept out the brawn, and now they are short of labor. They were about to make that appeal, and the people desiring the admission of the refugees got in ahead of them. If you opened with a plan

to let in some more refugees, you will open up and let in some more laborers almost invariably.

Mr. BORTOLI. Those refugees have only been saved by the Americans; they have been taken from the fire; they have been brought to the Greek territory, to Piræus and all the islands and they are there now starving and dying. There are no houses; they are without covers, and a telegram I may read to you is to the effect that the children are dying at the rate of 180 a day. They are without food or other help than that given by the Near East Relief.

What I was asking is that those persons residing here in America, and among those Greeks, maybe, are 75,000 which have served in the American Army and, I might say, the good cause.

The CHAIRMAN. They served as Americans, with Americans, in the cause of the world.

Mr. BORTOLI. And now among those refugees there are sisters, mothers dying, who are absolutely helpless and hopeless in that Greek territory, and they will die. The population of those islands will perish with the refugees, because all those towns are overcrowded; they are parked on the streets. I saw the barracks myself. In one barracks at Piræus, which was built to contain 200 people, there are over a thousand, and may even give the name of an American professor at the American college at Beirut who has taken photographs of those camps. I was not able to stay a minute on those barracks, and yet those people had to live there.

Why can not a man, so long as he is able to support his family, take them under bond? The Government could take all the guaranties it needs to see that those people will not become public charges. The number is not so large. But, for instance, suppose I was a resident of the United States and served in the American Army, do you not think that in such a horrible catastrophe as the one of Smyrna I could come to you and tell you my sister is dying and I can send the money, and she can not even come? She can not go to a hotel; she is on the streets. Winter is there, and they have no covers. What shall she do? Could you have the heart to forbid her coming?

Mr. RAKER. People are coming to this country who could go to France, where there is a splendid climate, plenty to eat and wear. They can get a vessel and go right there and find shelter and provisions within 100 miles.

Mr. BORTOLI. We are not obliged to follow her example. I do not think there are any of those refugees who want to go to France or who want to go to Italy, because they have seen those nations acting when they were in distress, when they were flying from the fire and got to the wharf, and those nations which were able to save them had to wait for the example of the great America, which went there and saved 376,000 from the water front of Smyrna under American protection for 12 days.

Mr. WHITE. In other words, those refugees do not look upon the Italian Government, nor the Italian people, nor the French Government, nor the French people as their sympathetic friends at all?

Mr. BORTOLI. Absolutely not.

Mr. WHITE. That makes that clear.

Mr. BORTOLI. Because the two Governments which have enabled the Turks to be victorious are the two allies of the Greeks—France and Italy. They gave the arms and munitions to the Turks. France, in 1920, when the Greek Government and the Turkish Government were asked by Lord Curzon to conclude a peace treaty on certain conditions that were imposed from the Allies upon the Greeks and Turks—France has postponed always from period to period that peace conference, because she wanted to see the Turkish Armies stronger and stronger; and there we are.

I am only showing that there are over a million refugees absolutely helpless and hopeless.

The greatest number of those refugees—all of them, practically—have been saved by the Americans. There are among them those who are members of the families of American citizens who are begging to join their brothers, sisters, mothers, and fathers, and they are not able to do it.

Can not the exception be made for them?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, it can. But it immediately runs counter to the favored-nation clauses of the other nations, and they have either got to do one thing or the other. The United States is viewed by all countries of the world, and if it begins to pick out refugees especially to be brought to relatives here from one country they will have to do it for other countries. If you propose it

for one bill, you might just as well take the bull by the horns and propose it for all of them.

Mr. WHITE. Here is a nation, the Turkish Government. They are not asking that we receive any refugees?

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Mr. WHITE. The favored-nation clause is not involved for the simple reason that no Government to-day existing in the world is going to come out in broad daylight and assert in terms that we are oppressing certain of our subjects, and we demand that those people who are being compelled through want and cruelties and our policy of government to get out of our country shall be received in the United States. What Government, Mr. Johnson, would place themselves in that position?

There is no differentiation made in this bill we are discussing. These refugees might as well be from England or from Germany; they might have been German nationals or the nationals of any country. Now, Mr. Chairman, I beg pardon for calling attention to that. I think we are moving along safe lines.

The CHAIRMAN. It would be only a few weeks until we would have the same thing from Constantinople and other refugees.

Mr. WHITE. I do not want to interrupt the consecutive statement of the witness to go into that. It will all be threshed out in executive session.

Mr. RAKER. Did not those foreign nations, particularly Italy and the Italian people, even though they were here as citizens, become very much incensed over the attitude of our Government with reference to Flume?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes; they did.

Mr. RAKER. I want to show by the witness that every time our country does anything that it thinks is right for America, these nationals of the country that we deal with that feel so hurt, immediately turn against the United States, although Americans by birth and naturalization.

Mr. WHITE. What does the gentleman refer to?

Mr. RAKER. I will tell you about it.

Mr. WHITE. I am asking you.

Mr. RAKER. I say this, and I say it advisedly, that whenever America gets in conflict with any nation that is opposed to it, the nationals of that country in the United States, to a greater or lesser degree, require watching, and a great majority of them are going to be against America and for their native country.

Mr. WHITE. To what instance does the gentleman refer to?

Mr. RAKER. I will name England, to start with, in the war of 1812.

Mr. WHITE. Oh, well; the gentleman has not much international magnanimity.

Mr. RAKER. The idea is we get an appeal from one nationality because of this war because they are all right and the others are all wrong.

Mr. WHITE. Are you for absolute exclusion?

Mr. RAKER. For the present, yes.

Mr. WHITE. We have not got it.

Mr. RAKER. We ought to have it until we get just such things as this adjested. As the witness said, we are nearing and confronting one of the greatest disasters that ever overtook this country, if we are not ready and willing to do a little sacrificing and tend to our own household instead of looking abroad to get some great humanitarian problem and obtain some newspaper notoriety and become humanitarians and forget our own home people.

I want to ask this witness: The climate is very mild down in the Mediterranean countries. They say the people have not homes and houses to live in. Have you thought, sir, that right within the shadow of this capital you have permitted and I have permitted American citizens to live in a tent when the thermometer was 20° below zero; and has anybody raised his voice against those poor American citizens living in that manner? Not one.

Mr. WHITE. I did not know of it.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Bortoli, where did you first see this bill that is being considered here?

Mr. BORTOLI. I saw it at the Senate and I saw it in New York when the bill was being prepared.

Mr. RAKER. Who introduced this bill in the Senate?

Mr. BORTOLI. Senator Keyes.

Mr. RAKER. And you say that you collaborated by being present and discussed with parties who originally prepared this bill, before it was introduced in either House or Senate?

Mr. BORTOLI. No, sir; this bill was drafted in New York, and they were asking me some information and I was giving it to them.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Bortoli, I want to ask you this question: Is it not true that the Turkish Government is a government of Islamism?

Mr. BORTOLI. Absolutely.

Mr. WHITE. Is there, to your knowledge, any strong spirit of intolerance of religious or racial intolerance being exercised by the governments in the Balkan States—that is, outside of those countries which have achieved their independence from the Ottoman or Turkish Empire? I am speaking of the Balkan independent States. Do you get my question? Is there any strong spirit of religious intolerance?

Mr. BORTOLI. Absolutely no. Of course, this is the religion of the Turks, to kill as many Christians as you can and the more you kill the quicker you go to heaven; for example, a Turk can not kill a dog. Mr. Morgenthau and Mr. Wharton also will say that.

I remember in 1914, before the Turks started to civilize, they were killing, but not in the wholesale way. You could see in Constantinople over 5,000,000 dogs belonging to nobody. These dogs could not be killed by Turks, but when the Germans went to reorganize the Turkish Army they took all of those dogs, put them in ships, and sent them to certain islands; and you see now every morning two ships loaded with bones and other kinds of food going to those islands to feed the dogs. That shows you, sir, that the Turk in a certain way has a religion. If a Christian touch a dog they would strike him immediately. I remember when I was a boy going to college I learned the Christians can not kill dogs, but the Christians are to be killed by the dogs. This is their religion: Kill as many Christians as you can.

The CHAIRMAN. If the witness will remember, the doctor here from Connecticut last year presented a pamphlet he had written several years ago, in which he undertook to explain the religion of Mohammed; and we had all these things in connection with the appeal for the admission of Syrians and Assyrians to relatives, a large part of those at that time being in the State of Connecticut.

Mr. WHITE. I am trying to establish that which has always been my belief and which Mr. Simon confirms as to this situation, that the Turkish Government is a government of Islamism.

The CHAIRMAN. We admit that; and the Koran, their bible, calls for killing their enemies.

Mr. RAKER. What difference would that make, Mr. White, if theirs is a government of Islamism?

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, this country called Thrace belongs to Greece.

Mr. BORTOLI. Thrace has belonged to Greece for 2,000 years.

Mr. JOHNSON. And that makes a lot of trouble?

Mr. BORTOLI. Absolutely. But I suppose if Thrace was handed back to the Greeks in the Lausanne conference the refugee problem would be somehow lighter, but the Turks must be chased out of there; for instance, the Turks have just chased all the Greeks from Smyrna, and have determined to chase all Christians out of Constantinople. The Turks would have those territories, which are very rich, in their hands. All the commerce in Asia and in European Turkey was held by English, Americans, French, and Italians and Greeks. So all the freight was in the hands of the English, French, Italians, and Americans. The Standard Oil Co. has concessions there, and now those concessions have to be considered. What is to become of that land? Are you going to leave all that precious raw material that that land contains just to go—

Mr. WHITE (interposing). It may not be especially necessary to bring it out, but since all this other matter has been introduced I want to ask the witness if the Turkish concessions to foreigners now granted, and which have been granted, the French and Italians predominate in the concessions they have secured from the Turkish Government?

Mr. BORTOLI. Absolutely, sir.

Mr. WHITE. Do they predominate to a very great extent?

Mr. BORTOLI. They actually do. And this is the purpose of the evacuation of Smyrna: The Italians were paying money to their own residents to go back

to Smyrna and reconstruct—I do not know what expression to use—I saw my mother killed and I saw my two sisters dead, and the Italian Government wants to pay the Italians to go back to Smyrna to reconstruct, not to lose predominance. I can bring you newspapers which are stating that the Angora ambassador made the promises to the Rome Government that Turkey would not forget the French and Italian help.

Mr. WHITE. They have asked you, would it be fair to conclude that the Italians and French investors are inspired by the conviction that they can get better terms from the Turkish Government than they could have secured if the Greek control had been continued in Smyrna?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. That would be a fair conclusion?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir.

Mr. Box. What do the American concessions consist of?

Mr. BORTOLI. Oil.

Mr. Box. Anything else?

Mr. BORTOLI. Well, they have most of the shipping.

Mr. Box. Shipping and oil?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes, sir; the Standard Oil Co. is established there. Their properties have not been burned, for the simple reason that they were in front of the position—

Mr. Box (interposing). You say they did not burn the Standard Oil properties?

Mr. BORTOLI. They were not touched.

Mr. Box. They killed men and women and burned the American consulate and other property, but did not touch the Standard Oil property.

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes.

Mr. CABLE. Was there anyone protecting the Standard Oil property there?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes; the Standard Oil is practically on the water front, in the lower part of town, and a destroyer was in front of the Standard Oil's building.

Mr. CABLE. The United States destroyer?

Mr. BORTOLI. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to read this [reading]:

"It remains to treat as briefly as possible of the considerable Turkish element in Thrace. It should be noted, in the first place, that in statistics all Moslems, regardless of race, are grouped together as 'Turks.' Indeed, the Turkish element in Thrace is thickest in the highlands of western Thrace, occupied almost exclusively by Pomak and Achriane mountaineers who hide under conformity to Islam the mystery of their origin." Moslem preponderance here, however, is irrelevant to an appreciation of Greek claims, for this territory is left to Bulgaria. For the parts of Thrace actually claimed by Greece, Turkish and Greek statistics are agreed in showing a Greek majority (304,537 Greeks and 265,359 Turks in the one case, and 393,515 Greeks and 344,911 Turks in the other).

"The majority may not appear overwhelming, but three points should be borne in mind. In the first place, the Turkish element in the country is artificially swollen by an enormous floating population of soldiers and officials recruited from the Anatolian homelands of the race. An illustration will make clear the force of this point. Turkish statistics show that no less than 43,000 inhabitants of Constantinople are persons in Government service. If we multiply this figure by five in order to include their families we have accounted for fully half of the Turkish population of the capital. Something analogous, though in a less degree, obtains throughout Thrace. If we could take into consideration only the permanent and settled population, Greek preponderance in Thrace would be much more striking. It is suggestive in this connection that M. Berl, a publicist sent on special mission to the country by the French Government a few years before the war, calculates that the Greek element, though only about 35 per cent of the total population of Thrace, has in its hands 50 per cent of the agriculture, 80 per cent of the industry, and 70 per cent of the trade of the country, besides almost monopolizing the liberal professions.

"In the second place, a glance at the ethnological maps will show that the relative strength of the Greek and Turkish elements in Thrace has undergone a considerable change, to the disadvantage of the Greek element, since 1877.

This is due to the policy inaugurated by Abdul Hamid of attracting Moslem immigrants (Mohadjirs) from the former Provinces of the Empire, notably Bosnia, Crete, and Bulgaria, and settling them in predominantly Christian regions with a view to modifying their ethnological complexion. One estimate puts the number of Mohadjirs thus settled in Thrace since the Russo-Turkish War as high as 188,000. Since 1914, this process has been carried one step further by the Young Turkish Government, which has seized the opportunity afforded by the war to deport 120,000 Thracian Greeks from their homes and settle Moslems in their place, not to mention several tens of thousands more driven out and compelled to take refuge in Greece during the spring of the same year. About half of these 120,000 have perished of hunger and privation. The repatriation of those still alive is an act of elementary justice besides being, as the report of the Inter-Allied Commission already referred to points out, 'by far the soundest means of restoring prosperity in the country.' It is doubtful if after such a repatriation the Turks would have a majority in Thrace, as the Turkish element has also been thinned by the war and epidemics, but, in any case, the majority that counts is surely the pre-war majority, not the majority obtained through deportation and the 'white massacre.' One can not admit the assassin's claim to step into the shoes of his victim.

"Finally, we must ask ourselves which is the element which plays the music of the Zukunft. In all cases where the future of territories of mixed population is under consideration, a long-sighted view is only possible if we also take into account the tendencies and possibilities presented by the various elements. One can not ignore such a fact as the strikingly higher rate of increase of the Greek element. The example of Cyprus is there to show that under an administration which does not attempt to control racial growth through massacre, the Greeks increase three times as rapidly as the Turks. Nor can one deny that the Greek element alone possesses the vitality necessary for reconstruction on the ruins of to-day. A distinguished Italian publicist has well expressed certain facts noted by every careful observer of the Near East. 'The Greek people believe that their mission in the east is not yet at an end. Their consciousness of their own superiority, their intellectual gifts, their pride, their aptitude for commerce and peaceful progress generally, their family organization, which assigns to women a post of action and direction worthy of them (even the Turks respect Greek women and reserve for them the title of "kokona," or "matron"), their taste for learning, their undying optimism, their inability ever to feel discouragement, their characteristic versatility. * * * and their profound knowledge of life constitute a justification of this idea.' (Amadori Virgil, *La questione rumellota*, pp. 51-52.) 'In the immobile Orient the Greek nation alone personifies the western spirit of activity and progress. * * * The Moslems who in this nineteenth century respect and fear Greek nationality while fighting against it, show thereby their respect and at the same time their dread of the invading civilization of the West.' (Ib., p. 52.)

And, lastly, may we say a word to those persons who, while anxious to do justice, are reduced to despair by the tangled ethnography of the Balkan region and are inclined to find refuge in mandates and international controls? These expedients of the League of Nations are excellent in their appropriate place and season; but if applied too indiscriminately, they may become engines of injustice belying that doctrine of self-determination and majority rule which supplies the very raison d'être of the league. Thrace affords a test of the validity of that doctrine, just as much as Transylvania or Bohemia. Minorities, whether large or small, should have every right assured to them short of the right to deny self-determination to a majority.

"To put Thrace, the 'largest ethnological domain of the Greek race north of Pindus,' as Reclus called it, under the mandate of a great power would only mean turning it into a second Crete.

"The Greek element, already a relative majority numerically and enjoying the higher birth rate, absolutely preponderant in economic life, and monopolizing such culture as the country possesses, could not fail to assert its preponderance more and more strongly under any civilized government and to press with ever-increasing force its plea for the union of Thrace to the mother country. The mandatory solution is, above all, a compromise, and the precedents of eastern Rumelia and Crete are there to show that the Balkans do not take kindly to such compromises."

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will now hear Mr. Capps.

STATEMENT OF PROF. EDWARD CAPPS, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, PRINCETON, N. J.

The CHAIRMAN. Professor, what is your business and place of residence?

Professor CAPPS. I am professor in Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee has been holding some preliminary hearings for the purpose of considering H. R. 13269, a bill introduced by Mr. White of Kansas, who is a member of this committee, which bill proposes to admit refugees from the Turkish territories, and we have had statements covering some of the history and locations, and then there were some further statements of distress, which are on file here, and some statements in reference to the possible numbers of refugees who might be admitted from the total number of refugees. Anything you can say we will be glad to hear.

Professor CAPPS. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I have not had an opportunity to study this bill in any great detail, but I think I know the general purpose of it and the limitations that are embodied in it.

My impression is that it will not go very far as a measure of relief; that it will be a very great relief as to a limited number of families who are in very great distress because of their relatives in Thrace and in the Near East. However, it would surprise me if, in conformity with these regulations, more than 10,000 to 15,000 should come in; and I should think, too, that the quality of the immigrants that you would get through these restrictions would be the best; that is, men and women of substance, whose relatives on this side have an acknowledged position and are reputable citizens.

So that I think that you have very carefully guarded the quality and the numbers of those who may come in.

Personally, I regret very much to see any restriction placed by this country against the victims of the very great disaster that is going on in Asia, because we are the only country in the world (are we not?) that closes its doors to a person who is suddenly driven out of his house and home. All the near-by States must take these refugees, whether they want them or not, these people who land upon their shores; and, of course, if the disaster were near at hand and our own destroyers should land these refugees on our shores, say in New Jersey, by the hundreds of thousands, we would take them all and care for them until they could be repatriated.

The majority of these people will endeavor to be repatriated. The great majority of them are small landowners. You may be interested to know that every Greek farmer, who has reached the age of 40, with very few exceptions owns his own homestead, a little plot of land, and is very thrifty and a very able farmer.

I had some good testimony on that subject from Professor Cyril G. Hopkins, of the University of Illinois, whom you may know as a great American soil expert, who went with me to Greece in 1918 for the Red Cross. He wanted to see if he could tell the Greeks how to produce more food with the same labor and from the same land in order to make themselves self-sustaining. They were short about 40 per cent of their needs, so far as cereals were concerned; and he said he could not improve upon the methods of the Greek farmer, under the conditions under which they worked. He could, however, very much improve the soil of Greece, and he proposed to tell them, and did tell them, how to do this.

I am speaking of the quality of the Greek peasant, not of the city Greek. The city Greek is of a type quite distinctive of the Orient or rather of the Mediterranean Basin. A considerable element of them are men who live on their wits. But the great mass of this population we are speaking of now that is emigrating, that is moving out of Asia and Thrace, consists of sturdy, land-owning, conservative, thrifty farmers; and if they could be put on our farms they would be a very valuable class.

Mr. RAKER. You are speaking, particularly, of the Thrace country?

Professor CAPPS. What I said is peculiarly true of the Greeks of Thrace. I have had a considerable contact with them. I have lived in Greece about six years and moved around a great deal, and have had to do with the Thracians and Macedonians during the period of the war as commissioner of the American Red Cross. The Thracians, in my opinion, are the most independent, sturdy, and self-supporting thrifty people of all the Greeks in lands until recently Turkish.

Mr. RAKER. Well, Professor, I have not understood that any of the people from Thrace want to come here.

Professor CAPPS. I do not know that they do; but they would be very wise, as conditions are now over there, if they started to move his way, in my opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, if too many did not move?

Professor CAPPS. The Thracians are going to suffer by being in between the Turk and the Bulgarian in the immediate future. Every tendency will be to depopulate that region of its Greek population.

Mr. RAKER. And drive out the Greeks?

Professor CAPPS. And drive out the Greeks; and I suspect, no matter what the conference decides, that every prudent Greek who can get away from the country will leave, provided there is a place to go.

They are a very desirable body of citizens, so far as I know them.

Mr. RAKER. And provided there is not quite an immediate hope of recapturing them and having it under Greek domination.

Professor CAPPS. They will go back in any case. No, they have not much of a sense of nationality.

Mr. RAKER. They have not?

Professor CAPPS. Only very slight. They have lived under foreign domination all their lives. There has been very little political agitation, although a great deal of religious propaganda. Of course, they have a sentiment in favor of a political organization that involves the Greek Church. But, apart from that, I do not think they are much concerned whether they are ruled by Greeks, Bulgarians, or Turks. That is my own theory, and I have talked to a great many of them.

Along that very line, if we should admit a large number of refugees who have relatives here, and the country became somewhat peaceful over there, there would be a desire on the part of those to return, it would be the able-bodied that would return rather than the dependent; and it would be those who have a stake in the land and who have acquired titles to the land.

The CHAIRMAN. They would be subject to the same charge in the United States that we are now subjected to, that our quota law is admitting a great excess of dependent peoples, and that the able-bodied from various countries where conditions are becoming more firm are now returning, leaving us the dependents, Poland, for instance. The outgo of Poland was in excess of the income, and the outgo was the able-bodied, the man who was going back to Poland to live. That is one of the complaints against the workings of the quota law.

Professor CAPPS. I think there is a great deal of truth in that observation, Mr. Chairman. But they are usually minors. The refugees will be almost all dependents—women, children, and young boys—because the grown-up men are not permitted to leave. To keep the Turks from getting them, they have gone into the interior already—those who have escaped, rather few in number.

Mr. RAKER. So we would get not many able-bodied men?

Professor CAPPS. You would get only boys and not many able-bodied men. You would get some old men, women and children, from what I hear, and I presume you hear the same thing. In Greece that is true. I get my information from the Red Cross, that there are nearly a million refugees in Greece to-day, and they expect to have in the lower part of Greece, around Athens, one refugee to take care of out of every two inhabitants. That is an intolerable condition. They can not feed them or shelter them. A good proportion of them is dependent, and the great mass of them women and children.

Mr. RAKER. A great many of them came from the cities?

Professor CAPPS. No, I think the mass of them are the country people.

The CHAIRMAN. Following out your statement that you hate to see the United States the only country with its doors closed: The United States is farther removed than other countries from this place of trouble; the United States is one of the principal countries that has immigration laws. But many of those countries have only laws relating to exiles. They treat those who come upon their soil only as visitors and transients. Does not that make a little difference in the situation?

Professor CAPPS. I think it does. I think the fact that we assume that everybody who lands on our soil is a future citizen makes a considerable difference. I do not see that this ought to be involved. I am thinking now of the necessity of finding temporary shelter for these people, the most diffi-

cult I suppose we have seen in our lifetime, far more difficult than anything done in France and Belgium.

Mr. RAKER. Then we meet up with the condition right away that all the children born, no matter how they come here, are citizens.

Professor CAPPS. Well, they would be pretty good citizens. We certainly would not turn our back to them, no matter whether good or not, if it happened to be Cuba that was in trouble or any nearby country; and Bulgaria, Serbia, Italy, England, and France—not one of them closes its doors to these people, no matter where they come from or how they are selected.

Mr. RAKER. They are having a difficult time, are they not?

Professor CAPPS. They are having their troubles.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think it would be possible or advisable if this were decided to consider such a bill as this to amend it to admit all of those who are admitted as refugees purely as transients and temporarily?

Professor CAPPS. With the possibility of selecting out afterwards those that were desirable to keep—yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The further probability that every person who would come here to a relative would find that relative and all his friends and his church behind him when the time came to send him out, insisting he had made good and should have the opportunity of taking out his first papers and becoming a citizen of the United States, except those who worked voluntarily to repatriate themselves. That is what would happen?

Professor CAPPS. Yes, I think it would.

The CHAIRMAN. Because we are having that same trouble.

Professor CAPPS. Unless we have an organization by which we can follow them up. We would never commit the inhumanity of shipping them out of the country.

The CHAIRMAN. That is exactly the trouble we are having, even down to the insane children admitted during the war on account of the perils of the sea, temporarily. When the time comes for them to be shipped back, sometimes there is no family and sometimes no country to send them to.

Professor CAPPS. But the alternative is horrible to think of—that is, caring for them over there. It is almost an endless job.

The CHAIRMAN. It would be worse instead of better?

Professor CAPPS. Very much worse instead of better.

The CHAIRMAN. And there would be more requests for refugees in addition to this request?

Professor CAPPS. I do not know as regards numbers. I think death will take care of a good deal of that.

Mr. CABLE. This bill does not limit the number?

The CHAIRMAN. No; but it limits the locality.

Mr. RAKER. One gentleman told us that the territory called the Near East, with some 50,000,000 or 60,000,000 people, and that within the next 10 years, by reason of their ideas of nationality, there would be about 25,000,000 or 30,000,000 of refugees in that country.

Professor CAPPS. No; that is impossible, I think, Mr. Congressman.

The CHAIRMAN. That embrace a very large territory.

Professor CAPPS. They do not want to come over; the Kurds and Arabs, for example, do not want to come over.

Mr. WHITE. They can not qualify they are polygamous, are they not?

Professor CAPPS. I presume they are theoretically and perhaps practically. But it is the Christians who are involved. The only people who are in danger are the Christians. They are the property owners, of course; they are the merchants and the owners of farms. In Constantinople about 90 per cent of the business property, I am told, is now in the hands of the Christians.

The CHAIRMAN. Following that line right there, I will ask the gentleman—and you can answer outside the record or not—do you think that the United States would be justified in undertaking to define refugees as follows:

“ ‘Refugee’ shall mean any person who has fled from his home since the 1st of October, 1921, and was resident prior to fleeing from his home in (a) the territory belonging to Turkey as defined by the treaty of Sèvres, or (b) other territory occupied by Turkish military or civil authorities since October, 1920.”

That is to say, there is a definition of refugees, meaning certain refugees, and it is an admission that these people are recognized as refugees because they are Christians being persecuted by Mohammedans.

Professor CAPPS. I do not think that quite covers the case, Mr. Chairman, because it does not, for example, clearly include the territory of Smyrna.

does it? If Smyrna did not belong to Turkey, as defined by the treaty of Sevres and was not occupied by Turkish military authorities since October 30, 1920, it seems to me that Smyrna is not included; and yet the Smyrna district is the district most grievously afflicted. You should so phrase the definition of refugee as to include the refugees from Smyrna.

Mr. WHITE. It certainly provides that it include Constantinople, if the Turks take possession of it in the next month, before this bill becomes effective.

Professor CAPPS. I think it would include Constantinople, but I am not sure that it would Smyrna and the refugees from Smyrna. Have you any knowledge how many there are, Mr. Bortoli? I should say not less than 300,000 were taken out by the Americans alone.

Mr. BORTOLI. Three hundred and seventy-six thousand were taken out by the Americans alone.

Mr. RAKER. Altogether there would be a good many?

Professor CAPPS. There are 1,500,000.

Mr. CABLE. If the United States would open its door to let some of these people in, would not that incite the Turks to go ahead and massacre more?

Professor CAPPS. I do not think so. I think within a few years the Turks will be begging these people to come back and do the business for them; but, as they feel at present, they would like to murder them off and have them get out of the country.

Mr. RAKER. Let me put this right squarely up to you: Why should we think of permitting just refugees who have relatives here to come to this country and exclude other refugees who have no relatives here? Why should we make any possible distinction?

Professor CAPPS. To me it is monstrous. I do not think there is anything humanitarian about it. According to this, you would exclude the best kind of persons, the most desirable immigrants, and take in perhaps a dependent or cripple or old men, because they are relatives. I do not see a proper line to be drawn there, except that you guarantee the economical independence of the person coming in.

The CHAIRMAN. We do not guarantee that for any great length of time. What is the bond over a lifetime of some boy?

Professor CAPPS. These people will be prosperous in the United States; you will not have a large dependent group thrown upon American charity. But you are not getting the best immigrants.

The CHAIRMAN. According to their standard of living and not our standard of living?

Professor CAPPS. The Greeks are westerners. I do not know about the Armenians. But the Greeks very quickly adapt themselves to the western life; they are very frugal and they do not squander their earnings. The Greek has almost an ideal family life—divorce and immorality in the family are exceedingly rare. The family is a very close-knit organization.

Mr. RAKER. What is the attitude of mind of the Greeks in your observation as to sobriety?

Professor CAPPS. It is the rarest thing in the world to see a drunken man. I have seen drunken sailors, but drunken citizens are almost unknown even in the cities. They are very sober.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you understand this bill to apply entirely to the so-called Greeks?

Professor CAPPS. No. There might be a majority of Greek-speaking and Armenian-speaking people that you will get as a result of this; there will be scattering members of other Christian communities, neither Greek nor Armenian in speech. I do not know what race they will belong to.

Mr. RAKER. This question has been in my mind a long time, and perhaps you can answer it: Russia is a Christian nation, is it?

Professor CAPPS. Yes; I think we would have to classify the Russians that way.

Mr. RAKER. The expression is used so much, "Christian" or "non-Christian," and I just wanted it in the record if Russia is put down as a Christian nation.

Professor CAPPS. I think I would have to say, yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When you get down to nationality, the law reads, as it used to read, that the persons fleeing from religious or political persecution should be admitted, regardless of the immigration laws.

Professor CAPPS. I think we ought to admit them.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the old law. Now, we are down to the problem of this committee. Every effort to restrict or control immigration legislation from

the time introduced in the first administration of Cleveland down to its introduction during the last administration of Wilson received a veto on the ground that the efforts to restrict destroyed the right of asylum, which has grown to be a world-wide right. The asylum in the United States for the oppressed. All such attempts of law were vetoed until we got this quota law, now in its second year.

To start with a bill like this would probably wind up with a bill carrying those words—to continue the United States as open as for the oppressed of the world, if they are fleeing from religious or political persecution, and then would come the fight that we have had here so many times, whether that persecution was shown by overt act or not, and that fight has always been led by the Jewish people. In my opinion, it is almost impossible to put out this bill with this definition of "refugee" without opening up and having added to it all that other matter.

Professor CAPPS. I think "fleeing" is a hard word to define, sir. You have guarded against it here, have you not, by the phrase, "Who are deported, who have been driven out"?

The CHAIRMAN. And we find you here, a very broad-minded man, yet you are almost forced to take the stand and say that you can not deny that the soil of the United States should be held open to persons who are fleeing from religious and political oppression?

Professor CAPPS. Let us call it something else. Let us look upon them as victims of the war for which they are not in any way responsible. To the people over there it is very much like an earthquake. One day they were tilling their farms and herding their flocks and pursuing a fairly contented life, and suddenly it was all wiped out, and they were driven from house and home and their property taken away and they have no place to go to. If it had not been for the American destroyers there would have been 300,000 or 400,000 lost.

The CHAIRMAN. They may have been peaceful in this generation; have they not been on the go continually?

Professor CAPPS. They have been subjects of that country for 2,500 years more or less.

Mr. RAKER. Nine hundred years before Christ?

Professor CAPPS. You can not find a more valuable population in the history of the world than those Ionian Greeks. They have been there since many hundred years before Christ, the dominant element all along the shores of the Mediterranean, with the same characteristics and the same prosperity. Indeed, it is the only prosperous part Asia Minor, and that is the most persistent fact in history. Where can you parallel it?

The CHAIRMAN. We are confusing them for the moment—the Armenians and Greeks.

Professor CAPPS. The Armenians have had ups and downs, but they have been persistent.

The CHAIRMAN. I would say the same thing about the Jews; we have only in this particular hearing began to introduce religion by words.

Professor CAPPS. Is the Jew involved in this?

The CHAIRMAN. All last year we had to stand out against refugees, coming in.

Professor CAPPS. The Turks and the Jew get along pretty well together.

Mr. RAKER. What is the explanation of that?

Professor CAPPS. The Jew will submit rather readily to any kind of imposition, provided he has a free chance to carry on his trade. He will submit to taxes, and oppression, and he is almost protected from the one thing that outrages Christians: His girls are not taken off in the harems, but every Greek and Armenian has suffered.

Mr. RAKER. Why is not that done?

Professor CAPPS. Because they belong to the other race and are kept in seclusion. The Greek and Armenian girl moves around very much as an American, and is seen and coveted, while the Jewish girl stays at home and belongs to a peculiar religion and is less easily assimilated, I think.

Mr. RAKER. What does the Jew say when the Turk begins to interfere with his business? Does he make any complaint or anything?

Professor CAPPS. He submits. Anyone can get along very readily with the Turk, if he will accept his way of doing business and pay him ever so often an extortionate bribe. The Greeks have learned that, too; it is only when aroused by the political situation or the religious situation that they become

objectionable citizens to the Turks. They live very happily side by side in normal circumstances.

Mr. RAKER. Then if we used the designation of religious persecution by those now fleeing from the Turks, it could be readily said to be fleeing from religious persecution, could it not?

Professor CAPPS. No; I do not think that is the first motive. I think it is political persecution that we are seeing, but, for the moment, religion and politics are identical.

Mr. RAKER. On just what basis do you mean, Professor? Why do you think it is political?

Professor CAPPS. It is because the Allies in fighting the war made the proclamation that went to every hamlet of Asia, to the effect that Christian minorities were going to be protected; and if they were not minorities but majorities, they would be given their national rights; they believed in that and they looked upon the next stage as the millennium and prepared for it.

Mr. RAKER. That is, these various peoples?

Professor CAPPS. These various peoples. Their national sentiment was revived by the church. The priests became very much more important; they preached the reunion of the race, which they have not known since the days of Christ, or at least since the fall of the Byzantine Empire. The movement of the Turks was very similar; it was a revival of nationalism, based on religion, but it was political.

Mr. RAKER. You think, Professor, it did not extend to the territory, but was confined—the territory limit—we have had the expression here that those people were getting the Western idea, and they were trying to enforce it, of having a nationality or the State control, and they were getting a pride in it and trying to drive every other nationality out.

Professor CAPPS. You mean the Turks?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Professor CAPPS. I have not thought that at all. The Turkish situation seems to me rather simpler than that. The Turks found it very convenient indeed to collaborate with the Italians and the French in double-crossing the English and starting something at that time. They have started a good deal more than they thought they were starting. That is my own feeling about it; I do not think it is really Turkish strength at all which drove the Greeks out of Smyrna, but the Turks supported by two of the Allies.

Mr. RAKER. Just when were you last in the Far East?

Professor CAPPS. I left Athens about the 1st of June, 1921, and I have not been there since.

Mr. RAKER. How long had you been there?

Professor CAPPS. I had been there just a year as the American minister. I have been there off and on at rather frequent intervals since 1893. I have lived there six years altogether, the last time as the American minister.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the State Department?

Professor CAPPS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. I take it, Professor, from your statement that politics and religion are indissoluble in the Turkish Government?

Professor CAPPS. At the present moment.

Mr. WHITE. And the Government of Turkey might appropriately be said to be a government of Islamism.

Professor CAPPS. Yes; at the present moment. But two years ago I had very frequent testimony from the Smyrna district that the Moslem element was the most contented element in the population. I do not think they object to foreign rule particularly. I have known a great many Moslems from Crete and Macedonia—acting as governors and as deputies to parliament, and so on. They seemed to live in perfect contentment as subjects of another race, provided they are protected in their property rights and in the peculiar practices of their religion.

Mr. RAKER. Just what was the cause of this Smyrna trouble, as you see it now?

Professor CAPPS. The weakening of the magnificent Greek Army by the conviction that whether they won or not they were going to lose; that the Allies were going to make them withdraw from Smyrna whether they won or not. When the army was convinced of that they would not fight. They were withdrawing at the time Kemal attacked. They were pulling out. There was not the slightest use of standing up and fighting, because they had lost. Of course,

Kemal knew all about that, and he was fighting with French officers and German guns and various other allied war material.

The CHAIRMAN. It is charged that they were fighting in American uniforms?

Professor CAPPS. They may have had some, but they had German guns.

Mr. RAKER. They claim they had bought lots of American uniforms?

Professor CAPPS. So I have heard.

Mr. WHITE. It really amounts, did it not, to the French clandestinely co-operating with the former enemies of the Allies in that territory?

Professor CAPPS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did not the Greeks set out to reclaim territory?

Professor CAPPS. No; the Greeks never pushed their lines beyond the boundary laid down by the Allies until recently. They went in by the invitation of the Allies, and their military actions were controlled entirely by allied military advisors until they were forced to act alone.

The CHAIRMAN. The same thing might have happened in Italy, and then we might have been called upon to admit any relative refugees?

Professor CAPPS. That is a thing that could not have happened. You could have an earthquake in Italy. Suppose you did have an earthquake, which devastated Sicily and southern Italy, we would have changed the law and let them in.

Mr. RAKER. No. We would provide for them.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no estimate whatever of the number that might come in?

Professor CAPPS. I think under this bill—which is a very cautious bill—a very small number indeed might come in. I think you might get under this 15,000 as a maximum, or 12,000 to 15,000 people.

Mr. RAKER. Are we not in a delicate position to take in as refugee people when the English, French, Italians are so near to the scene of disaster and abundantly able to provide for their needs?

Professor CAPPS. If we could settle them all in France, sir, or England, I think it would be a juster solution; that is, if we could make the powers over there take care of their own product.

Mr. RAKER. The money could go to Italy, could it not?

Professor CAPPS. Italy is responsible for much of what has happened.

Mr. RAKER. It has been said here that these people can furnish plenty of money and means, but they have not any homes and they can not get provisions.

The CHAIRMAN. To admit these people as refugees through relatives under the bill as now written might indicate that once these folks arrived they would take out first papers, and then apply for more refugee relatives. There is that possibility that would bring it up to more than 15,000. Have you any thought as to what city would receive the most of them?

Professor CAPPS. There is no telling. Refugees from Smyrna, Thrace, and probably Constantinople who have relatives in this country could not be a very large number. How many Greeks have we in this country?

Mr. WHITE. Two hundred and ninety-seven thousand.

Professor CAPPS. Almost all of them come from Greece proper and the islands on the other side, on the Adriatic side.

The CHAIRMAN. We have got the Greeks divided up as coming from Greece, Rumania, Turkish Arabia, and Turkmen Asia.

Professor CAPPS. Have you the numbers?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. But it is divided by States, and it is hard to figure it out. But before we could pass a bill of this kind in the ordinary course, even if we should drive as hard as we could in both the House and Senate, the probabilities are that the whole Constantinople situation would be added to the distress over there, and that would add a very large number?

Professor CAPPS. Yes; it would make the need immensely greater, and then we would be doing a very much greater service.

The CHAIRMAN. And then if we found in Constantinople there were a great many Russians from Russia, and of any other religions, we would be in duty bound to take care of them as refugees, and be doing still a greater service, would we not?

Mr. RAKER. Would it be your view that if things should grow worse in Russia that we should take Russian refugees?

Professor CAPPS. No; I think the situation is totally different. I do not understand that the average Russian refugee was driven out of his home. I ought not to say "refugee"—the victims of the war, the people we have been

helping by supplying foods under regulations. But the land was devastated by their own Bolshevik revolution, and put out of commission and was not raising the food. So we went over there and fed the people in order to rehabilitate them in their own homes.

Professor CAPPS. I feel somewhat differently myself about the Russians, partly because they brought this trouble on themselves. But these people are innocent victims of the Allies, including the United States. They had no part in the war; they were not interested in it.

Mr. RAKER. I do not get yet by whom they were massacred and their property burned.

Professor CAPPS. It is the work of fanatics, foolish fanatics, riding on the wave of enthusiasm, after what they called a great victory over the English and French.

The CHAIRMAN. We get it through the newspapers by the statement of a Y. M. C. A. worker who appeared before the committee that the refugees burned some of the property in a part of the town to stop the enemy.

Mr. WHITE. Was it not the fleeing Greek army?

The CHAIRMAN. Possibly.

Mr. WHITE. That burned some of the Christian villages that had been abandoned.

Mr. RAKER. It is a good deal like the story that the Germans destroyed the cemeteries of France and Belgium during the war. Of course, they were destroyed. The Germans destroyed them partly by coming in; and then when the English and the French and the Belgians got after the Germans as they fled, and tried to hide behind these cemetery walls and we destroyed and razed them to the ground in order to destroy the enemy, that was natural, was it not?

Professor CAPPS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you about your views on immigration generally. Have you given much thought about its applicability?

Professor CAPPS. Very little, though I had some contact with the present immigration law when it was being put into effect, because I happened to be over there at the time. I have talked to a good many of our American consuls abroad about how it would work.

Mr. Box. You are speaking about 1917?

Professor CAPPS. No; I am speaking of the act of 1921, the quota law; and I never saw an American consul who did not think that he could not make a very much better selection in the interests of the United States if he were given the chance than it would ever be made by the self-selecting process that was being followed in the application of this law.

Mr. WHITE. It is logical to believe that the committee will give due consideration in the matter. Suppose they did introduce a law and it passed the House—

The CHAIRMAN (Interposing). We never passed a law permitting the consuls to make selection.

Mr. WHITE. No, but we passed what we think is a better law through the House. The gentleman's statement was that those consuls thought they could have passed a better law.

Professor CAPPS. They could have made a better selection.

Mr. WHITE. I say that it is possible that this committee think they could have made a better law in passing the bill—

The CHAIRMAN (Interposing). You are dropping into the matter we hear all the time—selective immigration.

Mr. WHITE. We did not have the element of inflexibility, Mr. Chairman; did we?

The CHAIRMAN. No. But if we had had any flexibility at all, it would have been all used up by refugees, since the first day of the law, from all countries. It was not possible to write anything that carried any elasticity without it being taken by what was then in sight.

Mr. WHITE. And yet we are being cursed every day because we did not do it.

Mr. RAKER. Abraham Lincoln and George Washington were cursed; but they were great men and did the right thing, nevertheless.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you studied or formed any opinions as to the regulation of immigration into the United States, generally?

Professor CAPPS. Not at all since the law was passed. I was an interested observer and a somewhat sympathetic observer of the restriction, and I should

like to see selective immigration so that we could take our choice of such people as are to come. But I would not deny legal remedy to a great national disaster that calls for our contribution. The President was good enough to appoint me a member of the great committee of Mr. Hayes, and I get all the reports about the horrible things that are happening over there. It seems to me that we should do our duty in providing homes for those homeless people, somehow; certainly there is enough American ingenuity to take care of the problem as regards immigration.

Mr. RAKER. There ought to be, but they are not working very fast yet. Would it not be better to provide homes and places for those people in near-by territory?

Professor CAPPS. If we would do that, I think it would be the greatest thing in the world.

Mr. RAKER. Let me call your attention to something to show how near-sighted we are. We have got ships by the hundreds tied up to the walls rotting. We have got men that can man them; we have produce of all kinds that is decaying and rotting and going to waste. Why can we not provide for those people where they are and close by, instead of bringing them over here now and creating more trouble?

Professor CAPPS. It would be a magnificent thing if you would do it; there would not be anything finer in the way of relief.

Mr. CABLE. Would you think that a practical proposition?

Mr. RAKER. Certainly it would be, as compared to bringing a single one to New York. I want to go a little further with the professor on the idea that we owe to a foreign person a living simply because they have a relative in this country. Do we consider we do?

Professor CAPPS. On humanitarian grounds we do owe something to a citizen who has a relative over there that has been overwhelmed in this disaster.

Mr. RAKER. I am talking about it solely on account of the relative. A man comes here voluntarily, maybe against the wish of all his relatives, and becomes a citizen. Do we owe anything to those who remain there because of the fact there is one who came over here and became a citizen?

Professor CAPPS. Not just for that reason, but we owe something to the man who came here. If he has a human heart, he is thinking about those relatives over there when they are caught in a thing like this. If you were there, you would strip yourself of coat, shirt, and shoes.

Mr. RAKER. The trouble is, Professor, so many witnesses and so many men, yourself and myself included, will not disassociate this disaster from the concrete question. I am getting down to the concrete question, that there should not be any distinction between a man here simply because he has relatives in preference to those aliens living abroad; that we should look to the question of whether or not the alien will make an American citizen first, last, and all the time, excluding now questions of disaster. Does not that about appeal to you?

Professor CAPPS. I think it is very good as far as it goes. But I do not see in that clause, Mr. Raker, regarding relationship anything but the guaranty we demand that there shall be some means of support when they come over. It is economic entirely.

The CHAIRMAN. While we are considering this bill it is altogether possible a plan will develop, just as in regard to central Russia, in the commitment for the physical relief of the refugees.

Professor CAPPS. It has got to be more stupendous than anything else done in our day if it is going to be effective. But it might be cheaper and better for our national life if we did not have to deal with this problem by importing these people. There is no question about that. But that would not affect my judgment on such a proposal as this, because we are not doing the other.

The CHAIRMAN. Right on that line, the representative of the Near East Relief Association stationed here in Washington testified the other day, and I noticed that the Episcopal bishop and others were making this their request: First, that for those actually at our doors, to the number of a few hundred, should be admitted, and then to make possible the admission of a limited number in excess of the quota coming to families guaranteed not to become public charities. So that the proposals that anyone dares to make do not go beyond something that might be considered a limited number in proportion to the great number in distress and to be in distress. Would it not be much better if the movement could start and we could help start it and do our part with

the rest of the world by putting these people back on these very farms they have had?

Professor CAPPS. That is what we ought to do.

The CHAIRMAN. We must do it; and the mere question of whether to let in 10,000 or 12,000 is not a drop in the bucket and is hardly to be considered as to be compared with the whole proposition.

Professor CAPPS. A very slight alleviation, but it is a very definite alleviation, from two points of view—it takes care of this small number of people who are no particular detriment to us; and, in the second place, it relieves the anguish of a good many families who are established over here.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that the committee would be justified in thinking that they would come over in American ships, either as first-class or steerage passengers?

Professor CAPPS. I think that it would be.

Mr. RAKER. Would it make any difference, in the relief of suffering humanity, under the circumstances, whether they came on American ships or foreign ships? If they were brought on American ships that would give some individual here a little profit.

The CHAIRMAN. Except this, that the steamship companies right this day, are keeping agents right around this room all day long with the hope that something will take place that will give them an opportunity to make some profit.

Mr. WHITE. I would like to ask you this question, if we would not really be in a parallel position of a ship, that we would not save from the buffeting waves, another ship, and permit the people on the other ships to be drowned, isn't that our position, wouldn't that practically be our position, and shouldn't we stretch forth a hand to suffering humanity where no public interest will be jeopardized, and that is what this measure prevents absolutely.

Professor CAPPS. I think that there will be absolutely no public interest jeopardized by the bill, because it does not go deep enough into the question, but so far as it does go it relieves some people over here from most intense suffering. I have known a number of people, whose brothers and sisters or some of the lot over there, good American citizens, you know, who are simply torn to pieces by anxiety over the well-being of their people over there. I think that we ought to help if we can.

Mr. WHITE. Under the provisions of this bill, they are the persons that will be benefitted. The bill provides "that the petition must be accompanied by the statement of two responsible citizens of the United States to whom the petitioner is known that to the best of their knowledge the statements made in the petition are true and that the petitioner is a responsible person, able to support the refugee or refugees for whose admission application is made." That provides that there must be two credible witnesses, corroborating these facts. The bill totally covers that.

Mr. RAKER. I want to ask you a question. Do you know anything about the connection that Mrs. Leeds had in connection with this war?

Professor CAPPS. About what?

Mr. RAKER. Do you know anything about what Mrs. Leeds had to do with that war?

Professor CAPPS. She did not have anything to do with it.

Mr. RAKER. Her money was not used in financing it, in starting it?

Professor CAPPS. I do not think so. In the first place she is trusteesd. She does not have very much money of her own. She is trusteesd. I mean, she can not get at the capital; but she has a very liberal income. It is ample, but she took a pretty large order when she married into that family. There are 13 unmarried girls in that family and they all need a little money, I have no doubt, and she is very generous.

Mr. CABLE. Was not her money used to put the King back on the throne?

Professor CAPPS. It was so stated, but I do not think so. I was there all during that time, and I did not see any evidences of the use of the money.

Mr. CABLE. I want to ask another question. I notice by the paper that she and her husband are coming to this country. Now, how can she get in, as the question is filled? What means can she use to get into the country?

Professor CAPPS. She is not coming here to live.

Mr. CABLE. What?

Professor CAPPS. She is not coming here as an immigrant.

Mr. CARLE. That does not make any difference. Her husband is no longer an official of the present government?

Professor CAPPS. No. But she could come here, to pass through, or she could stay here three or four months. He would not think of coming here to live. He is too happy in Paris.

Mr. RAKER. Now, I want to call your attention to this one element of these people to be admitted as relative. Section 6 provides "That there shall be received as evidence of the residence of a refugee (a) an extract from any birth registration kept by a civil or ecclesiastical authority, or any official registry certifying to the fact of his residence; (b) the official statements of an agent of any corporation organized for philanthropic purposes under the laws of the United States or any State thereof engaged in the relief of refugees and affiliated with any committee appointed by the President for Near East relief, if the agent is delegated by his organization for the purpose."

That language is very loose, is it not? They are, of course, without any civil or ecclesiastical records, as they have been burned.

Professor CAPPS. They will be without those records. They will have been destroyed. Ninety-nine per cent of the refugees will have left their homes without any kind of records, or anything else except the clothes that they were wearing.

Mr. RAKER. In San Francisco, whenever we have found a Chinaman that we thought was illegally in the country he has always had three or four men testify that his papers were destroyed in the fire, and as a result, they have gotten in until they got rid of that particular law.

Professor CAPPS. You will find, however, that a great deal of local information can be obtained by anybody who knows that country. The country there is remarkably well organized and vital statistics well kept. I have never seen anything like it in this country. The president of a village community knows every man, woman, and child, practically, and particularly their birth records are admirably kept. If you could get a person to testify as to those people in that country, you could absolutely depend on it. They are much more strict about keeping those records than we are. You can not get born over there without being recorded. So that I believe that there might be persons or a competent consul who has been there for some time could get facts in a manner that would satisfy the demands and your needs.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, we find that right in the United States that the Greeks are doing the same thing; keeping tab on all of their people, the number, the kind of business that they are in in which all of the better Greeks get in, and yet they all object to registration on the part of the United States, and all other alien population also.

Mr. RAKER. They are all for themselves, and not much for America; and just why is it?

Professor CAPPS. I think that the Greeks are pretty good citizens. The Greek from the mainland, I am sure is, because I have seen a great many of those. Unfortunately when they come over here they are more likely to become city dwellers, although I think not probably more than any other immigrants, but he is essentially a farmer. He is not a criminal, but is very trustworthy. Personally, I think that the Greeks are very high-grade immigrants. Personally, I think that they are very superior to the southern Italians.

Their family traditions are very excellent. The loyalty of a son to his father and mother is an example for any American.

Mr. RAKER. How does it come that so many Greeks that have come over to this country, say 5 years back to 15 years back, were single men?

Professor CAPPS. Because the agricultural conditions were so bad. In the first place, Greek custom requires the brother to work until he has provided his sister with a dowry before he can marry himself. He frequently gives up his share in his father's estate and comes to the United States and lets his sister have it so that she can marry. The women all have their dowers. The father and mother are also always cared for. You never hear of any desire to evade such an obligation. It is a trait worthy of imitation.

Mr. RAKER. How long will it take them in the United States to lose those customs?

Professor CAPPS. I presume that a generation will probably spoil them.

Mr. WHITE. It is the power of example.

Professor CAPPS. The power of example. They do not stay off in herds by themselves. They assimilate themselves with the people around them. We want that. In religion they stick to their church for quite a while.

Mr. WHITE. Let them stick.

Professor CAPPS. Let them stick. Then, they become Baptists or Presbyterians.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is nothing more we will now adjourn. Leave your name and address so that the transcript can be sent to you for revision.

(Whereupon, at 4.30 o'clock, the committee adjourned.)

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Tuesday, December 19, 1922

The committee this day met, Hon. Albert Johnson (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman, in view of the suggestion you made at the hearing yesterday afternoon to the effect that if we could do it, the witness should be allowed to proceed without interruption, I would suggest that it be done. The persons here to-day would like to, as far as possible, conclude their statements to-day. You said, Mr. Chairman, that it was desirable to close the hearings to-day if it could be done.

The CHAIRMAN. Not necessarily. I have a long list of witnesses in addition to those present now.

Mr. WHITE. We have with us this morning Dr. Esther Lovejoy, who will be the first witness, and she will be followed by Mr. Charles Vernon Vickrey. Speaking for myself, I am very anxious to hear Mr. George Horton, consul general, formerly stationed at Smyrna. If it pleases the chairman and the committee, I should like to have Dr. Esther Lovejoy proceed with her statement.

The CHAIRMAN. I have here this morning a number of telegrams addressed to me but which belong to the committee. They should be read into the record.

The first is a telegram from J. Drachsler, of New York City, of the conference on Immigration policy. It says:

NEW YORK, December 12, 1922.

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

At Miss Hulbutt's suggestion we have been preparing folders of information on Near East situation containing maps, figures on distribution of Greeks and Armenians in United States, relief action of European governments, brief historical survey of Turkish European relations, latest Near East relief cables, and other information available at short notice. We expect to get this off to-morrow morning special delivery, to be in your hands by Wednesday evening.

J. DRACHSLER,

Conference on Immigration Policy.

The CHAIRMAN. The next is from Carrie B. Woodward, secretary to Rev. C. N. Lathrop, executive secretary of the department of Christian social service of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City. It says:

The CHAIRMAN. The next is a telegram from Charles S. MacFarland, general secretary Federal Council of the Churches of Christian America, New York City. He says:

NEW YORK, December 18, 1922.

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,

Chairman House Committee on Immigration,

Washington, D. C.:

Earnestly hope you will make provision for refugees; believe this will keep the spirit of our laws better than minute insistence on letter. The men and women who founded our Nation were just such refugees.

CHAS. S. MACFARLAND,

*General Secretary Federal Council
of the Churches of Christian America.*

The CHAIRMAN. Next is a telegram from Mrs. C. W. Stimson, Seattle, Wash., saying:

SEATTLE, WASH., December 18, 1922.

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Sentiment in favor of Near East refugee act most apparent. Indorsed by State Federation Women's Clubs, representing 42 organizations with 5,000 membership, and by Rainier Noble Post, American Legion, Chamber Commerce authorized Underwood to give it immediate attention. Mark Matthew and other clergymen urging popular support from pulpit. Masses would appreciate favorable action from you.

Mrs. C. W. STIMSON.

The CHAIRMAN. Next is a telegram from M. W. Matthews, Seattle, Wash. It says:

SEATTLE, WASH., December 18, 1922.

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,

Washington, D. C.:

Have just been informed that bill to admit Armenian refugees will come up for discussion to-morrow, Tuesday, and that you are opposing it. This is an emergency, and I think from every humane reason these poor subjects should be admitted. Can you assist?

M. A. MATTHEWS.

The CHAIRMAN. Next is from Mrs. O. F. Lamson, Seattle, Wash. It reads:

SEATTLE, WASH., December 18, 1922.

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Washington aroused in sympathy for Near East refugees. Act through chamber of commerce, American Legion, Women's Federated Clubs, and from pulpits. Mother writes from Athens, buried to-day 108 children. Washington men and women will consider murder in cold blood your opposition to this humanitarian act.

Mrs. O. F. LAMSON.

The CHAIRMAN. Next is a telegram from J. Arthur Younger, Seattle, Wash., reading:

SEATTLE, WASH., December 18, 1922.

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Rainier Noble Post unanimously favors passage of Near East refugee act. Kindly give your support.

J. ARTHUR YOUNGER, *Commander.*

The CHAIRMAN. Then there is a statement under the caption "Emergency immigration legislation for relief of Greek and Armenian refugees coming to relations in America." It reads:

EMERGENCY IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION FOR RELIEF OF GREEK AND ARMENIAN REFUGEES COMING TO RELATIVES IN AMERICA.

At Ellis Island many Greek and Armenian refugees from Asia Minor and Thrace coming to relatives in America are being denied admission because annual quota (Turkish, 2,388) are exhausted for the year.

Prosperous American Greeks and Armenians desire to bring to America relatives now suffering privation after evacuating Smyrna and Thrace, but can not do so because of quota being exhausted.

Therefore, Congress should be asked to pass an emergency bill to admit in excess of quota Greek and Armenian refugees from Turkish territory, admissible under the 1917 law, for remainder of year 1922-23.

1. Greeks and Armenians must leave Turkish territory: The victorious nationalist Turks do not want racial and religious minorities in their territory. They are ordering them out. Lord Curzon, the Times, November 9, says: "The Turks are engaged in wholesale banishment of nonnationalist Turks. It is a policy so almost suicidal in character that it would sweep away all those necessary for its life simply because they are not Turks." Rofet Pasha, the

Kemalist governor of Constantinople, is reported, the Sun, November 7, as sending note to allied commissioners demanding instant expulsion of Greeks from Constantinople. Smyrna is a tragic witness of their policy of banishment. The roads from Thrace are crowded with refugees.

2. Greece can not support all the refugees: Even with the help of Bulgaria and Serbia, Greece can not care for all the 1,000,000 refugees pouring upon her, of whom more than 500,000 have already arrived. (Figures from Hays coordinating committee on Near East fund.)

The population of Greece was 4,776,000. It is an agricultural country that can raise 70 per cent of its own food. A 20 per cent increase in population is staggering. With only 44,000 employed in industry, she can not readily absorb them industrially. B. P. Salmon, ex-president American Chamber of Commerce in Greece, says only 200,000 to 300,000 can be absorbed into agriculture.

The Government is feeding and sheltering the refugees, but can not continue unaided. They have only two months' supply of grain (November 8). America will need to help through the Hays committee, not for one year but for several.

3. America could receive a limited number of selected immigrant refugees without difficulty:

(a) They would have to meet strict requirements of 1917 law.

(b) They would come in care of responsible relatives.

(c) They would not upset the labor market, being mostly women and children. Last year America lost, net, 67,000 unskilled laborers, and net gain in man power, chiefly skilled, was only 6,518; 3,828 more Greeks left America in 1921-22 than entered.

(d) Greeks and Armenians have proven themselves readily assimilable, good, industrious workmen, eager for education, loyal in the war, and good citizens.

4. Restrictive immigration can be made compatible with American tradition of asylum to victims of such an unforeseeable emergency.

5. Congress, without disturbing the immigration restriction policy, could offer emergency relief in the following possible ways:

(a) By lifting the quota restriction on Turkish territory for remainder of immigration year 1922-23 to admit otherwise admissible refugees (homeless persons domiciled in Turkish territory prior to September 1, 1922), coming to relatives who shall guarantee that they not become public charges.

(b) The same as above, inserting maximum number—50,000 or 100,000.

6. By such strictly domestic legislation we can give substantial relief to sufferers, obviate much need for American charity, and reunite families.

The CHAIRMAN. And I have a letter from Mr. Charles T. Bridgeman, written in this city. It appears that Mr. Bridgeman is connected with the Conference on Immigration Policy, 135 East Fifty-second Street, New York City. The letter says:

Hon. ALBERT JOHNSON,

Committee on Immigration and Naturalization,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR Mr. JOHNSON: Seventy-eight Greek and Armenian refugees from Turkey, coming to responsible relatives in America, are held for deportation back to Turkey because the annual quota for the year is exhausted.

What shall be done with such cases? They shall arise every month from now until July.

The Department of Labor says it has no authority to admit them: they can not act unless Congress gives permission.

The unprecedented, unforeseen disaster befalling Greek and Armenian subjects of Turkey suggests emergency legislation.

Such is the purport of the inclosed brief, which has the backing of so influential organization as the Federal Council of Churches.

On Wednesday I shall beg the privilege of speaking with you on this matter.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES T. BRIDGEMAN,

Conference on Immigration Policy,

135 East Fifty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

NEW YORK, December 18, 1922.

THE HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Dean Lathrop has asked me to send to you these signatures that have come in since those sent to you last. The copy of the signatures is not being sent to the members of the Immigration Committee.

Walter T. Sumner, Bishop of the Diocese of Oregon.

Frank Hale Touret, Bishop of the Diocese of Idaho.

Benjamin Brewster, Bishop of the Diocese of Maine.

Wm. A. Guerry, Bishop of the Diocese of South Carolina.

W. L. Gravatt, Bishop of the Diocese of West Virginia.

Wm. Mercer Green, Bishop Coadjutor of the Diocese of Mississippi.

G. C. Hunting, Bishop of the Diocese of Nevada.

Mark Risenbark (Rev.), member of the social service commission of the diocese of Utah.

George D. Keller (Rev.), chairman of the social service department of the diocese of Minnesota.

John H. Spencer (Rev.), chairman of the social service commission of the diocese of Montana.

Charles Leo Abbott (Rev.), chairman of the social service department of the diocese of North Dakota.

Alfred W. Nicholls (Rev.), chairman of the social service commission of the diocese of Arizona.

Very truly yours,

CARRIE B. WOODWARD,
Secretary to Rev. C. N. Lathrop.

THE CHAIRMAN. The next is a letter written Mr. M. T. Kalaidjian, secretary of the Armenian Department of the Young Men's Christian Association of the city of New York. It says:

NOVEMBER 23, 1922.

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Under the auspices of the Armenian department of the Young Men's Christian Association an Armenian mass meeting was held at the auditorium of the Twenty-third Street branch of the Young Men's Christian Association, New York City, on November 21, 1922, and the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas the evacuation of Asia Minor by the Greek Army has brought a great calamity to the Christian population there, and more than half a million Armenians and Greeks have been driven out of their homes in Smyrna and elsewhere and who have taken refuge in Greek territories in utterly destitute condition; and

"Whereas the President of the United States has officially recognized the existence of an emergency in the Near East due to Smyrna disaster, and in order to give expression to the humanitarian sentiment of the people of the United States, has appointed a special committee to provide funds for the relief of these Christian refugees; and

"Whereas the Armenians and Greeks of Asia Minor, now refugees in Greek territories continues in their evil plight and they are unable to return to their homes, their homes being already in most cases destroyed and the Turkish authorities having ruled against the return of Christian people to their former homes; and

"Whereas the pending evacuation of Constantinople by the Allied Powers and the occupation of the city by the Turkish rulers will be followed undoubtedly by the exodus of the Christian people from the city, thus adding another half a million refugees and making the burden of American relief organizations still heavier than at the present; and

"Whereas among the refugees there are thousands who have close relatives in the United States, who are financially able and more than willing to assume the support of their relatives if they are only permitted to bring them over to the United States; and

"Whereas these refugees, being mostly women and children, their admission into the United States will in no wise affect the labor situation but will provide more consumers, and in a way lighten the task of American relief organizations and make it possible the funds provided by the American people to be

used for the support only of those unfortunate refugees who are absolutely friendless and helpless; Therefore be it

"Resolved, That the United States Government be respectfully requested to open the way by appropriate congressional action at the earliest moment so to modify the act to limit immigration of aliens into the United States as to permit until next fiscal year the entrance of more than the present quota of persons born in the Near East from where the stricken Christians are now forced to flee, it being understood that in all cases requisite evidence shall be given as heretofore by the relatives of the refugees in the United States that they will not become public charges;

"Resolved further, That a copy of this resolution be presented to the President of the United States, the Secretary of Labor and the Chairman of the Senate and Committee on Immigration."

Very respectfully yours,

M. T. KALAIDJIAN,

The CHAIRMAN. The last is from Mr. David Trautmann, secretary of the Federation of Polish Hebrews of America, 62 West One hundred and thirteenth Street, New York City, in the form of a printed statement. It says:

FEDERATION OF POLISH HEBREWS OF AMERICA.

Office: 62 West One hundred and thirteenth Street.

NEW YORK, November 29, 1922.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The Federation of Polish Hebrews of America, an organization instituted 14 years ago, and whose principal office is at 62 West One hundred and thirteenth Street, in the city of New York, has a membership of over 75,000 scattered all over the United States, of which 90 per cent are citizens of the United States.

Since the passage of the new immigration laws, numerous appeals for help to bring over relatives of members of the federation, which said relatives reside in European countries, have reached our office.

The president of the federation, Mr. Abraham Rosenberg, has just returned from a trip he made in Europe and after hearing his report as to the situation there, the federation concluded to call a mass meeting for the purpose of petitioning the Honorable President of the United States and the Members of Congress to amend the law to cover certain cases.

These cases have particularly called the attention of the members of the federation and should appeal to every human heart for special consideration.

The mass meeting was held on Thursday, November 23, 1922, at Beethoven Hall, in New York City, and the following resolutions were adopted unanimously:

"Whereas the attention of the Federation of Polish Hebrews of America has been called that a large number of men who have come from various countries leaving their wife and children in the country of their birth, having at the time, the intention of bringing their said wife and children to the United States shortly after their arrival in the United States; and

"Whereas, after the arrival of the said men, the United States enacted immigration laws setting a quota of persons to be admitted according to the number of persons already in this country, and that for this reason, a great number of married women with their children can not join their husband, they not being able to have their passport visced by the consuls abroad; and

"Whereas this state of affairs is the cause that members of one family are being separated and will so be for months to come: It is

"Resolved That this federation should ask the Honorable President of United States and the Members of Congress to amend the emigration laws in such way as to allow all married women, together with their children, whose husbands are already in the United States, to enter our country regardless of the quota allowed for the country in which these women and children reside always, providing that the husband should be well able to take care of his said wife and children and is willing to give ample guaranty that they will not become public charges; and it is further

"Resolved, That the foreign consuls should immediately after the passage of such amended laws be notified so that they may without delay visc the passports of such persons when requested to do so."

Now, dear Congressman, if you have a human heart will you refuse to give your assent to a law that will reunite husband and wife, children to their father? Will you have pity on the poor woman and children who are suffering by being separated from their husband and father? The federation asks you to help in this matter and is assured that you will see the justness of its appeal in the matter. Help giving back the wife and children to their husband and father and the federation members are thankful to you in advance for whatever share you will have in passing the amended law.

A copy of these resolutions has been sent to the Honorable President of the United States.

With our best wishes to you, we remain

Very respectfully yours,

ABRAHAM ROSENBERG, *President.*

DAVID TRAUTMANN, *Secretary.*

The CHAIRMAN. I believe that is all this morning. All this and much other matter is sent to the chairman for use of the committee, and the members should look it over carefully when they have time.

Mr. WHITE. It is proposed that Dr. Esther Lovejoy, of the American Women's Hospital Association, be called as the first witness to-day. Is Miss Lovejoy present?

Doctor LOVEJOY. Yes.

STATEMENT OF DR. ESTHER LOVEJOY, CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF AMERICAN WOMEN'S HOSPITALS.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor Lovejoy, please give your address to the stenographer.

Doctor LOVEJOY. I live at 637 Madison Avenue, New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are chairman of the executive board of American Women's Hospitals?

Doctor LOVEJOY. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Is 637 Madison Avenue, New York City, your permanent address?

Doctor LOVEJOY. That is my permanent office. My residence is at the Savoy Hotel at the present time. My permanent address is Portland, Oreg. My permanent home is in Portland, but I reside in New York City, in Europe, and elsewhere. I travel a good deal.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a statement you desire to make to the committee?

Doctor LOVEJOY. I was present during the evacuation of Smyrna, between the 24th and 20th of September, and anything the committee desires to know of me I shall be very glad to give if I can. But if you desire me to make a statement, I shall proceed that way.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead in that way.

Doctor LOVEJOY. I was present in Smyrna during that time, and, of course, it would take a long time to tell the complete story. I am the head of the American Women's Hospitals, and we have been doing work in Asia Minor and France and Servia and other countries during the past five and a half years. I was in Paris en route to Russia when this trouble in Smyrna came up and immediately turned my attention to Smyrna, where I arrived on September 24.

The center of the city was ruined. These people were being taken away by the warships at the time the fire was on. It seemed that a new order had been adopted and the nations were all maintaining what the world was pleased to call "neutrality" at that particular time. These unfortunate people gathered together on a quay. It is utterly impossible for me to say the number that gathered there, but they were just as thick as human beings could be massed together. I have before this given the figures 250,000 as an estimate; but I have found in conference with officials of the State Department that the figure should be about 280,000. Two hundred and eighty thousand people were taken away as refugees.

None of the men and boys between 15 and 50 years of age were taken, therefore no doubt there were 300,000 or 310,000 persons squatting upon this quay, and they had been sitting there on those cobblestones for quite a while--since about September 15. At least they had not had a place to rest comfortably, or a bed.

I arrived there on September 24, and learned that they had been holding their places for quite a while. Nobody nor no language can tell what this terrible condition was. One must have witnessed it with his own eyes to appreciate the magnitude and depth of the suffering. Then, too, many people are incapable of understanding the situation when they see it with their own eyes, because they are blinded by the tragedy of it all. This quay was wide, and these unfortunates squatted as closely as they could, and held their places because it was presumably the place of greatest safety.

At night it was possible for the warships in the harbor to throw on this group their searchlights when the women screamed for protection, as they did night after night. That scene was indescribable. One could constantly hear the screams and moans and shrieks of these poor women and girls moving up and down that quay. Certainly that is the most terrible thing I every heard of or ever expect to hear of. There was no retreat from that position. If they had tried to go back to the ruins of the city they probably would have lost their lives.

The quay at last became a reeking sewer, and at least the evacuation started on September 24, the very day I got there.

There were eight refugee ships on September 24. On September 25 one ship came in and loaded and went away. On September 26, at night, 19 ships came in for refugees, and from that time a large number of ships came every day until the end of the week. It may be said that that week will be known as an evacuation week in Smyrna.

Mr. WHITE. Under what flag were those ships?

Doctor LOVETOV. These ships were largely Greek ships, but I think there were a few British ships. That information could be gotten from Mr. Jennings, the man who had been sent out to get ships. They also got cooperation from the Greek government, as I understand it. On this point, though, I am speaking from hearsay. But about other things I speak from personal knowledge.

Mr. Jennings, after being out for quite a long time—I do not know the date he left—was probably the 18th or 20th of September, and his ships began to come in on September 24.

On September 25 the people were in great despair because only one ship came in. They did not know the others were to follow soon.

The Turkish airplanes had gone over these places and dropped down a proclamation saying that all were to be deported on September 30 to the interior, regardless of age or sex, women and children as well as men. All the men between 15 and 50 were deported to the interior, anyway. And they all looked upon deportation to the interior as nothing less than a sentence of death. It is in fact worse than death, because it is preceded by slavery on the part of the men and even worse on the part of the girls and women. Finally death ends all.

On September 26 the 19 ships began to evacuate the people of the city. The sight was indescribable. The great mass of miserable people pushed on down toward the quay and the long railroad pier in order to get aboard the rescuing ships. Practically all of them had on their back all their earthly possessions at that time. Many of them carried their sick and their infants on their back. And many of those people had lived in that city for many years and their families had lived in that city since Saint Paul was a missionary in that country, long before the coming of the Turk from Asia into that country. Many of these people had been wealthy, owned their own homes, and were people of superior standing in the community. Some of the homes were, literally speaking, palaces; but all had to be left. The place that was taken by the American consul was a palace handsomely furnished with rugs, pictures, etc.

These poor unfortunates rushed along the quay, having in mind, doubtless, that they would be deported on September 30. They had only four days to get away.

There was this long pier extended into the water. In the water there was a sort of three-cornered angle, and a space about the size of a quarter corner of a city block. Here in the water was a mass of dead animals and here and there the bodies of men, the result of killings on the night of the fire, within plain view of all. The bodies of dead people floated up from time to time. The great crowd surged down the line, and then met fences. There would be one fence, I should say, 200 or 300 feet from the end of the quay, and then another fence at the end of the railroad pier. And out on the pier three fences had been made with timbers. These fences were so constructed that everybody would be obliged to go down through these five gates and pass through a double

line of Turkish soldiers for inspection. The point was that the Turkish authorities did not want any man to get away and this plan afforded an opportunity to search and rob the women. The surging crowd would crush against the fence with terrible results, especially to the young, the old, and the weak.

This is true. I am sure that the history of Christian martyrdom does not record anything that exceeds the suffering of these people of Smyrna. It was a martyrdom of 280,000 people, who were refugees, in addition to those who were taken to the interior.

They came down to this first fence, and I stood there between the first two fences for six hours on Tuesday, September 26, and watched that great crowd. They came down against that fence, men, women, the old and the young, with great force and disastrous results. Truly the scene can not be described, because it was too terrible. They could not get through. Many were pushed into the water.

Not far from this mass of dead animals and bodies of human beings, which was washing to and fro, there were these unfortunate women who had been thrust into the water. The water happened to be shallow at that time. The morning I stood there the tide was so low that persons in the water could stand up, the water coming about to their waists, and the women were holding to their children. Many who had brought bundles from home had to abandon them.

Then came the big rush toward this gate. I suppose I might as well tell you gentlemen, most of whom, or perhaps all of whom, are married, the worst thing coming within my sight. On account of the horrors of that city, with a population of 300,000, bereft of their homes and burned out, naturally there were among those people a large number of expectant mothers. You all know what would happen in these cases. There were many premature maternity cases on account of this crushing and rushing. I was assigned to watch especially for these maternity cases, and as I stood there for six hours one poor woman in the agony of her labor was thrust through this gate just as her baby came into the world. I give the details of this one terrible case because it is the worst thing I have ever heard of or seen in my life. But there were hundreds of cases occurring at that time.

A Turkish soldier would stand on either side of this line of women, and if they saw a prosperous looking woman they would reach out, seize her, pull her aside, examine her—going over her body and, lifting up her skirts, and looking into her stockings to see whether she had any money they could take. Then another woman would pass and they would seize and search her. I am now telling what I saw with my own eyes, and I would take oath to what I say.

Then the men would come through. One Turkish soldier would seize a man and whisper to him. Then the man would put his hands into his pocket, give the Turk some money, and the man was passed on. Then, at a distance of about 40 feet another soldier would seize the same man and the man would be compelled to buy him off. This process would continue as long as the poor man had any money, and then he would suffer the same fate as the remainder of the men. The man would finally find himself in the prison group. I saw one man at the first gate cut his own throat as a protest against being taken through.

Further on down the line I saw a young man with arms bound behind. They must have especially wanted him, so they bound him. He saw the possibility of suicide and made one jump overboard and drowned himself.

To describe these horrible and revolting scenes is beyond the power of language.

Along came two girls with an old woman, seemingly their mother. This poor old woman finally fell in a faint or in some way. I do not know what the trouble was. The two girls knelt beside her, as if in prayer, and kissed her hand and smoothed her brow. They were praying and bestowing care with the manifestation of tenderness befitting daughters. No one thought they would roll her overboard. But they actually did roll her overboard into the water and she was gone. And young, unprotected children were pushed off the wharf to be lost. Those poor unfortunates had been there from the 13th to the 26th of September. And on the 27th, the 28th, and the 29th of September it was the same.

Mr. VAILE. How was the weather?

Doctor LOVEJOY. Very hot.

Mr. VAILE. How were they fed?

Doctor LOVEJOY. The Turkish children would come along and sell them things. The Turkish part of the city was not destroyed. Many of these refugees on the wharf had money, and also the disaster relief committee, made up of members of different relief organizations and business people of Smyrna, got together and had bread baked and distributed among them. Some of the Jewish people were still doing business. The Jews were not sent away. They were spared. The Jews, too, would come along and sell things to the refugees.

The feeding was a terrible thing, because it frequently started great rushing and a great crush. In the agony of starvation the people could not restrain themselves. And then, too, when the ships came in they were not provisioned. They were without food. The refugees were carried over to an island and there they were dumped. You can not comprehend the thing.

This was the most terrible thing on the quay. The families of five or six members had been together on the quay. Or it may have been man and wife, mother and son, brothers and sisters. At one of these gates a soldier would seize the man, while his wife would cling to him and beg the soldier to let him go with her. The baby would hang to its mother as an attempt was made to separate them in driving the women to the ships. The soldiers were continually saying to them, "Get out; be gone." And the soldiers would beat the women and men with a bunch of straps or with the butts of their guns. In the meantime the soldiers would invariably separate families. In many cases a mother would cling to her son of 15 as she was driven away, but the soldiers held all men between 15 and 50.

The Turks have a prayer concerning "infidels" which says, "and may their wives be widows and their children orphans." That prayer was answered on that dock, because the Turks took the fathers and thereby made widows and orphans.

And now the women and children are on the islands of Greece. Many of them, I have no doubt, have died of pestilence and starvation, and the men have been sent away to the interior to death.

Mr. VAILE. Are these refugees fed on these islands?

Doctor LOVEJOY. There is not food enough to give them.

Mr. VAILE. By whom are they fed?

Doctor LOVEJOY. By the Near East and the Red Cross. And the Greek Government helps. I am not well informed on that phase of the matter, because I have not been there.

I came home from Smyrna, and I am telling you what I myself know, positively, but I am getting reports from the head of our service there. She is looking after the sick, the starving, the distressed, and the nursing. There are about 1,000,000 of them, besides the people from Thrace. There is this difference, though: those from Thrace have their men with them.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you understand Anatolia to mean?

Doctor LOVEJOY. It is an indefinite term. I mean the peninsula between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

The CHAIRMAN. Name the countries included as you use the word.

Doctor LOVEJOY. Asia Minor and Turkey in Asia.

The CHAIRMAN. It includes the countries beyond?

Doctor LOVEJOY. No; that is not what I consider it to be. It is just that strip of country between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. I have not a specific term in mind.

Mr. VAILE. Do we understand that all the people who were actually taken away were women or children or boys less than 15 or men more than 50?

Doctor LOVEJOY. Yes. There may have been some few between 15 and 50 who got away, but not many. The men would make every effort to get away, even by swimming in the night. The men would jump overboard and attempt to swim to a British ship, which was the only ship that would receive them. The ships of other nations would refuse them asylum and send them back. One night I saw two men swimming. Refugees were being loaded on ships that night and the ships in the harbor threw their searchlights over the pier. Out in the water, in the path of a searchlight, we could see these two men swimming. The Turks discovered them and stationed two soldiers to shoot them. These soldiers stood on the edge of the wharf and shot and shot, and the bullets would skip along the water. The bullets would ricochet and go over the heads of the swimmers.

These refugees, if they went to M - - - without anything had to sleep on the grass. They carried practically everything on their backs, whereas many of

them had been accustomed to comforts. But the saddest thing was the separations of mothers from their children. The women were driven onto these ships without their children. One ship would take the mothers and in the confusion some of the children would be embarked on another ship.

When these Turkish soldiers were shooting at the two swimming men, the American boys got nervous, and it looked as though there would be trouble. The American boys were helping to get the refugees, women and children, on the ship. British boys were helping on the other end of the dock. When these Turkish soldiers were shooting, it looked as though our boys might interfere. The American officers finally went over and talked to these two Turkish soldiers and stopped them, and an American boat finally picked those men up. I thought the United States was somewhat involved when it picked those men up. These men could not be turned over to the ships and they could not give them over to the Turks. They took them ashore, and the Turks standing by seized them.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you thought the United States was going to become involved?

Doctor LOVEJOY. I do not know what the position of the United States was when they picked those men up. What should they have done with them?

The CHAIRMAN. They could have taken care of them. I meant to ask you about the United States becoming involved. Did you see any sign that the United States was about to become involved?

Doctor LOVEJOY. I am not an international lawyer and I do not know about those things.

Mr. VALE. How many men less than 50 years old are there among these refugees?

Doctor LOVEJOY. You would have to get a census person to pass on that, because the refugees had large families. If you have, say, 300,000 refugees, 280,000 were taken away on those ships. This is the figure given here at the State Department. Now what would be the proportion of men between 15 and 50?

Mr. VALE. I understand that all men between 15 and 50 were stopped.

Doctor LOVEJOY. Yes; and 280,000 were there besides that. A census expert could probably tell us.

Mr. VALE. Those 280,000 were a majority?

Doctor LOVEJOY. Yes, naturally a majority; but when you take boys of 15 you are getting into the child's class.

Mr. VALE. Those who were not stopped and got through did so purely by accident.

Doctor LOVEJOY. Yes, sir.

Mr. VALE. What became of them?

Doctor LOVEJOY. They went with the refugees; but there were very few of them.

Mr. VALE. What became of those who were stopped?

Doctor LOVEJOY. They were sent to the interior. I do not know what became of them. Nobody knows what became of them. I saw some of them taken away on a boat under guard, and they took them away by water. This is what they tell me about this: They say they take them over the hills, and you never see them afterwards.

Mr. VALE. What I am getting at is this: Is this true, that the problem of these refugees is largely a problem of women and children?

Doctor LOVEJOY. Yes, sir; largely. Doctor Elliot sends many letters from that country telling about her work among the women and children who are left without breadwinners to help them.

Mr. WHITE. I would like to ask you whether you could say from your information about how many persons lost their lives in the process of deportation.

Doctor LOVEJOY. It would be impossible to answer that, because the space was at least 2 miles long between the first gate and the second of the wharf, and all I saw was what I could see within my vision wherever I happened to be stationed. After the day of which I spoke, the British surgeon asked me to look after the maternity cases on the wharf, and I walked up and down, picking up women in labor. We put them on stretchers and carried them aboard ships. Mighty little could be done for them, even when that little service was performed.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you return to the United States?

Doctor LOVEJOY. I returned to the United States on October 20.

The CHAIRMAN. When you arrived in the United States on October 20, did you visit the State Department?

Doctor LOVEJOY. I saw the State Department three or four days ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you discuss with the State Department the case of these particular refugees in Greece?

Doctor LOVEJOY. I merely told Mr. Phillips of the State Department and another gentleman with him just what happened on that long railroad pier at Smyrna. I did not ask anything about this other business.

Mr. VAILE. Where are these refugees?

Doctor LOVEJOY. All through the islands of Greece. Greece takes the Armenians too, but the other nations do not want to take people in.

The CHAIRMAN. They have troubles enough of their own.

Doctor LOVEJOY. Yes, sir; surely all those countries have trouble enough of their own.

Mr. VAILE. What efforts have been made by these refugees to go to other countries than the United States?

Doctor LOVEJOY. I do not know anything about that. The only part I have been engaged in is the matter of relief. I do not know anything about this bill, except I have read it. It seems a decent thing for the people here to take care of them over there. We have to take care of them in a way anyhow when they are over there.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you given any thought to the number that may be brought to the United States?

Doctor LOVEJOY. I have not any idea, but in glancing over this bill, it seems that only those who have relatives here are affected.

The CHAIRMAN. Would that relieve the situation?

Doctor LOVEJOY. If I happened to be a refugee and I was going to be starved to death it would relieve it tremendously for me.

The CHAIRMAN. Exactly. If you were relieved, would you then be free in your mind for the other refugees?

Doctor LOVEJOY. I hope not, if I am a Christian.

The CHAIRMAN. This bill proposes to admit a few—a mere handful in comparison to those now existing and those likely to be refugees within 90 days. This bill is for particular refugees who were driven from Turkish territory since December 1, 1921, and takes no knowledge of refugees in all parts of Europe from other countries.

Doctor LOVEJOY. There never has been anything like this thing.

The CHAIRMAN. Are their needs more extreme than those of other refugees?

Doctor LOVEJOY. They are more extreme, from one angle, in that their men were taken from them. Those from Russia brought their men.

Mr. WHITE. You have read this bill and understand very thoroughly that in this country we have an immigration policy which proposes to protect institutions of this country, and it is framed with a purpose not to disturb the economic or industrial situation. Therefore the bill is based upon the proposition that we should admit, under the limitations which you have read into the bill, those who we can admit without disturbing our situation here unduly, without in any way hazarding the social, economic, or industrial situation. Therefore does it not seem that it is an act of humanity, when we do it without jeopardizing our national policy, to save what we can, under those limitations, of those poor people?

Doctor LOVEJOY. It is no doubt an act of humanity.

Mr. WHITE. That is the purpose of this bill. Great care has been taken to safeguard the American situation as our people understand and appreciate it; and there are in this bill limitations, you understand, more strict, more extreme, more severe, than those existing in the present law. We think it is a humane thing if we save what we can in this the most distressing emergency in modern times if not in all history. Do you so understand it?

Doctor LOVEJOY. Yes; that is why I am for it. I was asked a question regarding Russia. Now, as I said before, I am not an international lawyer, but I do know that in Macedonia and Serbia, where we worked, we got two Russian princesses who worked as nurses, and we brought them to the United States.

Mr. WHITE. You would think it a most unnatural thing, indeed, for us to say or assume, because we can not save all of those people we should not save any.

The CHAIRMAN. You would assume, also, that the United States should not pick and choose between refugees of a particular nation.

Doctor LOVEJOY. I can not say as to that.

Mr. VAILE. It is the same principle between the Greeks and the Armenians who are victims of the Smyrna disaster. The same principle that applies to all of them applies to any of them.

Doctor LOVEJOY. Yes, sir. Also, this is true: In this one group of cases, as I understand it, the relatives of those people stand here ready to support them.

Mr. VAILE. I was going to ask you one other question. Have you considered whether it would be practical to relieve these refugees in any way other than bringing them to the United States?

Doctor LOVEJOY. There are over a million of them, and the only way they are relieved is by going up and down the line begging for nickels to relieve them, and it is rather an uncertain thing in every way.

The CHAIRMAN. There are over a million of them, you say?

Doctor LOVEJOY. Throughout the whole country. Our information is that there are between 1,000,000 and 1,200,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Witnesses have endeavored to reduce the number likely to come to the United States to a minimum, and they have got it down to 12,000. I received a letter to-day placing the number between 50,000 and 100,000. Are you able to classify these million refugees by races?

Doctor LOVEJOY. No, sir; I can not, but Armenians and Greeks are largely in the majority. However, there are others. There are some other Christian refugees that would have to go out.

Mr. Box. In your judgment, which race, the Greek or the Armenian, predominates?

Doctor LOVEJOY. You see how impossible it is to answer that question. I stood on the dock, and they passed me two or three at a time. I can not tell. I imagine they were people whose ancestors had been there for ages and ages, since St. Paul was a missionary and before the advent of the Turk. I am not a very active churchwoman, but in the second chapter of Revelations there is a passage peculiarly adaptable to this situation.

Mr. WHITE. You said in answer to a question by the chairman that the nations of Europe have troubles of their own.

Doctor LOVEJOY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. Of course, I presume you had in mind that the readjustments from war conditions to peace conditions have proceeded very slowly over there.

Doctor LOVEJOY. Yes; and the possibility of future wars. The Turkish general is one great genius that came out of the World War, and it is only natural for the Turks to follow him. I have in mind the fact that, say, Serbia, or some other country in the Balkans, may have to meet the Turks. This Turkish military leader is only 41 years of age, with his life before him, and he is a genius.

The CHAIRMAN. You have lived in the United States, have been a student, and have been abroad and seen the peoples of the world. Do you believe immigration to the United States should be restricted?

Doctor LOVEJOY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee is obliged to you for your statement, Doctor Lovejoy.

Mr. WHITE. It has been suggested that we hear Mr. Charles Vernon Vickrey. I do not know how long it will take him to testify. Is he present?

Mr. VICKREY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON. My name is Ellsworth Huntington; I am a geographer of Yale University; and I want to speak about the Armenian bill. Can you put me on the program to be heard at the proper time?

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose we can hear you right now.

STATEMENT OF MR. ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON, GEOGRAPHER, YALE UNIVERSITY, NEW HAVEN, CONN.

Mr. HUNTINGTON. I am here because I am much interested in this bill. I have had a great deal of experience as a traveler and geographer in different parts of Turkey.

This bill was sent to me with a letter asking that I indorse and write a letter about it. When I first read the bill the humanitarian aspect appealed to me very much, but I said, before I had read it, when I was first glancing at it, that it is one of those many things concerning which we are working up our

sympathies, but scientifically it is not sound. I thought at first I would have to disappoint the friends who had sent me the bill asking for its indorsement. However, I read it over carefully and I began to think about it.

If you are willing, I would like to tell you what my work is, so that you may see what my reaction to the bill is. I am a geographer by profession, and I have written various books along that line. I have written concerning Asia, Palestine—civilization and climate. In other words, my work has been very largely a study of the effect of environment on human character, on human activities, on human modes of living, and all these sorts of things. And, of course, I have studied a great deal the effects of social life, and one could not be a geographer without being a sociologist. So, primarily, my tendency is to emphasize the effect of an environment, whether a physical environment or a social environment, on mankind.

On the other hand, as I have studied, I have felt that my ideas as to the effect of environment needed to be corrected and rounded out by a study of all phases of the subject. Therefore, I have devoted myself to the study of heredity. I am primarily a student of environment and, although my books have been mostly on environment, nevertheless I have come to feel that the very first thing to be answered in any important question is, What is the heredity of the people who are going to do any given work? Are they the material that is going to be good? For that reason I am a strong believer in the restriction of immigration. Some of my friends think I go too far in that, and that I am not humane enough in this question of how rigidly this bill should be administered. I have stood strongly for the strict enforcement of immigration laws. The first thing for us to do is to get in here people who have the type of character that is going to elevate our people. I thought this bill over along that line. In considering this bill the thing for us to do is to put away our feelings at present and to judge what the future effect will be to our country. When I did that I was led to a study of the character of the Armenian people.

I have spent four years of my life in Turkey and four other years in different parts of Asia. The Armenians are to a peculiar degree a people who have been subjected to a very strong process of natural selection, and that is what produces the character of a people—the fundamentals of that people. The Armenian people have been through a great number of persecutions.

MR. VAILE. Would you call that process a natural or unnatural selection?

MR. HUNTINGTON. Unnatural.

MR. VAILE. Is it not the reverse of a natural selection? Are not the most desirable ones the ones who are likely to be killed off?

MR. HUNTINGTON. That might seem to be the case.

MR. VAILE. Are not the younger and stronger men, who are to be carried away into slavery, and the young girls and women who are forced into the harems, the more desirable?

MR. HUNTINGTON. To answer that question is just why I came here. Doctor Lambert, who was the physician of the Red Cross in charge of the lepers, examined some 250,000 Armenians who had been deported from Turkey down into the Sahara Desert. What did he find? Doctor Lambert wrote an article in which he said that when those 250,000 Armenians were examined there was an extraordinary condition of vitality. Of course, there were many weak from starvation, but organically they were all right. There had been an unnatural selection going on among those 1,750,000 who died from some weakness or who were mentally not alert.

MR. VAILE. That was in the migration previous to this one?

MR. HUNTINGTON. Yes, sir; but we must establish the general principle. There is one of the most specific facts we have.

MR. VAILE. Is not this the real situation: So far as selection is concerned, you can compare it with war. War takes the best. Those who survive are, to be sure, what might be called, generally speaking, the strongest of those taken, but the whole part of those taken are the best in the community, and aside from those, those who are left are the weaker, or older, and less fit for war. In a disaster like the present one, the Turk culls out all the able-bodied men between 15 and 50. He takes all, or a large number of, the young, strong, and handsome women. Of the remainder, those who survive are the strongest of those remaining, but they are not the strongest or most capable of the whole population.

MR. HUNTINGTON. That is partly true, but not wholly. Let me tell you what I know to have happened. I went to Turkey in 1897. I had just graduated

from college, and I taught out there in an American school after the massacre. Later, I happened to be in Turkey on a scientific journey in 1909 when the massacre occurred at Adana. What happened is, as you say, a certain number of the men, who were able, were selected. Anybody who is prominent politically or in a military sense, is selected to be killed. But, on the other hand, those who suffer most in the ordinary massacre are the less competent ones. I have seen that in a great many cases, and it is true that a number of the leaders are cut off. That is one of the great defects of the Armenian people—they lack leaders. The outstanding leaders have been cut off, and that is why they are in their present position.

The Turks have leaders and the Armenians have none. The rank and file of the Armenians are strong people. However, there are certain things about the Armenians that I do not like, and I say that with all respect to their race, because there are doubtless some Armenians here to-day. When I first met them they grated on me. After I had lived among them long enough to find their real good qualities, I had a kinder feeling for them.

Mr. VAILE. Can you not say that about all peoples in the world?

Mr. HUNTINGTON. Yes; but I liked the Turk when I lived with him because he was a good fellow. On the other hand, if I wanted a job done when I was there, do you suppose I went to get a Turk to do it? No; if I wanted a carpenter, I went and got an Armenian, because I knew he would do the job properly. I always got an Armenian. On the other hand, I had a most delightful time with the Turks when I was there. I was their guest. I had a gay time with them, but, nevertheless, I did not trust the Turks to do the thing that was wanted.

There is another thing which I think is one of the strongest characteristics of the Armenians. I remember traveling among the mountains there. There are a lot of villages in which people call themselves Turks and sometimes Kurds. They make a sign of the cross before their meals. The reason is that those people are really Armenians—that is, they were 200 years ago—and a certain number of people at that time gave up the Christian religion and turned Turk.

Here, again, I can speak from the people I actually know. There was a certain group of Armenian professors in the college where I taught. Among them was a man who was less strong of will than the others, and during the massacre he turned Turk. That is what has happened. When there was a persecution, those who had less tenacity of purpose and less of those dependable qualities which make a man stick through thick and thin, they became Turks, and therefore there has been a great selection going on, so that the Armenian of to-day has a peculiar tenacity of purpose which is sometimes asserted in ways we do not like. That is one of the chief reasons, I think, if we carry out this bill, we are going to admit people who have more than the ordinary degree of ability. True, we are not going to admit leaders. If we could get leaders, that would be better. What I say is this: Here we have a certain degree of selection. When we get immigrants from most parts of the world, we have no selection. They come in almost indiscriminately, and we usually get the very poorest. In Armenia, this process of selection has gone on as among no other peoples in the world, so that they have a character we can count on. I urge very strongly that this bill be passed, because from a purely biological point of view I believe the people who would be admitted under it would be stronger, mentally and physically, than the average people we get—perhaps stronger, mentally and physically, than the average of our own people.

Mr. VAILE. Do you think that would bring up the average of the people now in the United States?

Mr. HUNTINGTON. I think that they will, probably, but that is a difficult question to answer.

Mr. VAILE. That is the question we have to determine.

Mr. HUNTINGTON. I think they will.

Mr. WHITE. I gather from your remarks that you think they will not degrade the status of our civilization.

Mr. HUNTINGTON. No, they would not. Of course, they have got many things to learn. And the same, of course, is true of ourselves. But, on the whole, I believe they would raise the standard of our citizenship. If I were called upon to select a group of people to come here, I would go first for high-grade Englishmen or Scots or Swedes or Irishmen, and pick out from

the top, but we can not get that sort. We can not get the top, but we can get people about the average.

Mr. VAILE. I understand, the provisions of this bill would permit old women and men and young children, but practically no boys or girls or men or women of middle age from, say, 15 to 20 up to 45, to come here.

Mr. HUNTINGTON. There are few of them to come.

Mr. VAILE. So that the argument you make on behalf of these people would not apply, because they do not exist.

Mr. HUNTINGTON. So far as the old people are concerned, it does not make any difference. We should admit them from a humanitarian viewpoint. And they will not live long. The children coming here are different, because they are going to become part of our population, and they are going to marry and have children. They are going to either raise or lower the standard of our citizenship.

As I said before, I am in favor of a restrictive immigration policy. In fact, I would go so far as to say that we should not have any immigrants for a certain number of years. In considering all classes of our population, which we must do, I would say these refugees and the children should be admitted.

Mr. RAKER. Are you considering that this bill applies to Smyrna?

Mr. HUNTINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. A gentleman told us the other day it applied only to East Thrace.

Mr. HUNTINGTON. According to the provisions of the bill, it applies to any territory that was a part of the Turkish Empire before the war.

Mr. RAKER. Do you speak now of East Thrace or Smyrna in the discussion you have given?

Mr. HUNTINGTON. I am speaking more of the Armenians. I would not distinguish between Greeks and Armenians. I think the same argument, to a less degree, applies in the case of the Greeks, because they have not been subjected to as much persecution. I have many good friends among the Greeks, and they know they have not been subjected to that persecution, and they have not got that tenacity of purpose which is so characteristic of the Armenians. Under the provisions of the bill, we get a good many kinds of selection. In the first place, we get the selection I have talked of. In the second place, we get a selection because the people who come from Turkey and Greece to this country are above the average. They have to get up and go, and they have more ambition than people who come from, say, Austria. These Turks and Greeks who come to this country have to have the ability to get together the money and to get away.

The CHAIRMAN. You think that those that are here now are not the best?

Mr. HUNTINGTON. The best stay in their own country, because they are not dissatisfied. Immigration never brings to our shores the best people. There are a great many different types of immigrants, and I do not think we are getting the most efficient. They turn Turk and they are lost. Wherever there is persecution, they are lost to the Christian people.

Mr. RAKER. Do you make the distinction that one of these peoples who live in Asia Minor or in that territory if he turns Turk he is lost?

Mr. HUNTINGTON. The same principle applies; it is only a difference in degree. In Thrace it applies less than in Asia Minor, but it applies. This bill seems to be very carefully drawn, and I say that without knowing anything about the people who drew it. I believe I have heard the name of the gentleman who drew it, but I know nothing about him.

Mr. RAKER. Are you in favor of leaving practically all these Armenian refugees in Armenia to come to America?

Mr. HUNTINGTON. I am in favor of letting as many as this bill covers come. This bill provides that only those who have relatives here may come.

The CHAIRMAN. How much of a guaranty would you recommend?

Mr. HUNTINGTON. I think under the circumstances that the provisions should be very light in that respect.

The CHAIRMAN. How long would you have the guaranty run?

Mr. HUNTINGTON. I think that guaranty should extend until they are 80 years of age, and in the case of children for a year or two.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be enough to put them on their feet and keep them out of the poorhouse?

Mr. HUNTINGTON. Yes; we must satisfy ourselves from the scientific point of view that this bill is right toward the country and the future and ourselves. While it does not make any difference to us, yet it is going to have an im-

portant bearing upon our descendants. And I think we should also consider the humanitarian point of view.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you be in favor of admitting, say, 30,000 in a bill which would lower the other countries' quotas, so that the gross immigration to the United States would not be larger?

Mr. HUNTINGTON. I do not know how many people would come under the provisions of this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. I am assuming that we can set an arbitrary number. Would you, then, be willing for the immigrants from all other countries to be reduced so that the gross admission to the United States would not be enlarged by the admission of these refugees?

Mr. HUNTINGTON. Yes, sir; I would make the requirements from other countries more stringent.

Mr. RAKER. By way of illustration, Smith has a relative in this country and Brown has none. They are two refugees. Smith is a sort of weak character, physically, and a little weak mentally, but he is not so bad that he will be excluded under the law; but Brown is a healthy, strong, robust fellow of about 25 without relatives here. Would you exclude Brown and admit Smith under this bill? Is that right?

Mr. HUNTINGTON. I do not think it is right, but I think it is necessary.

Mr. RAKER. Why necessary?

Mr. HUNTINGTON. I think I should put it in this way: We in America are likely to say and feel, "America first." Perhaps we are wrong in that. Personally, I think we go too far in that direction. If that is our principle, if we are going to take care of our own people, say, if a man is here and is a citizen, we owe a certain debt to him which we do not owe to the outsider. Personally, I would be in favor of striking out the restriction concerning relatives. If anybody would guarantee against the immigrant becoming a public charge, I would be in favor of admitting him. I think the relief societies should be given the privilege of guaranteeing these refugees if they have no relatives. I think that would be wiser and make our selection more strict. I favor strictness in selection and a motive which will appeal to the world and to the people as worth while.

Mr. RAKER. "Appeal to the world and the country." That does not sound good to me.

Mr. HUNTINGTON. That is not the basis on which I came here.

Mr. RAKER. If you are going to appeal to the world and humanity, why do not these people that are trying to get the Armenian people over here get together and borrow some of these ships that are rotting in the harbors of our country and take some of the produce that is worthless and send it to these people in the country where they are and keep them there so that they can eventually go to work, instead of bringing them to already congested centers of the United States and scatter them abroad here?

Mr. HUNTINGTON. They are doing some of that.

Mr. RAKER. Why do they not work up the propaganda and go at it with zest and vim, instead of trying to bring more people into the United States?

Mr. HUNTINGTON. The people who have that opportunity are doing their best. However, our best might not be good enough. I think that here in this method, it seems to me, is one of the most practicable methods there could be.

Mr. WHITE. I want to ask you this hypothetical case. Take two persons seeking to come into this country. One is a young man of the name of Brown, age 15 or 18 years, able to take care of himself any place in the world, and there is no emergency. The other is a starving, dying, relative of an Armenian or a Greek in this country who guarantees and furnishes two other guarantors, confirmatory to his statement that his relative will not become a public charge. Would you admit the one whose life is safe or the one whose life is in jeopardy?

Mr. HUNTINGTON. If you speak of the old people, my answer would be different.

Mr. WHITE. Young or old. If they are starving, dying refugees, would you save the dying man as an act of a humanitarian, or would you admit the strong one who did not need any particular care, and who could take care of himself?

Mr. HUNTINGTON. It may seem like evading the point—I would admit the strong one.

Mr. WHITE. I am talking about the one who does not need it.

Mr. HUNTINGTON. I do not think the choice is between the two alternates.

Mr. WHITE. Would you not be humane in this emergency? This is an emergency bill. It is not a bill seeking to establish a policy. It is a bill making an exception to an established policy for the purpose of saving the lives of some starving, deserving people.

Mr. HUNTINGTON. I am constantly torn between my humanitarian feelings which say, "Let us admit all these people," and my scientific conviction that we ought not to admit people who are going to have defective children.

Mr. WHITE. We are agreed on that. This is an emergency bill, and the principal of it is to admit some of these people and to limit the number under the provisions written in the bill clearly and concretely, and no more than we can safely admit into this country at this time. It is not a general policy. It does not propose to repudiate the immigration law or nullify it in any way.

Mr. HUNTINGTON. If we are going to have a limited number, they should be selected from among these refugees. Selections should be made from among those who need this help, and the ones who would be most valuable to the country in the future. The strong children should be taken care of. However, the fact that a child is weak at the present moment is no reason for excluding him.

Mr. WHITE. Suppose the child is starving and we can save its life?

Mr. HUNTINGTON. Bring the starving one here first.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you for your contribution, and if there are no further questions to be asked by gentlemen of the committee we will excuse you.

STATEMENT OF MR. CHARLES VERNON VICKREY, OF NEW YORK CITY.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your address, Mr. Vickrey?

Mr. VICKREY. 151 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. And your business?

Mr. VICKREY. I am general secretary of the Near East Relief.

The CHAIRMAN. Kindly proceed with your statement.

Mr. VICKREY. I have just three observations I want to make. First, I will state that I have read the bill in question. The bill impresses me as a somewhat peculiar immigration bill. In that, as I analyze it, it means that we are willing to admit into our country members of our own families or those who are members of the families of our citizens.

Mr. VALE. Or of people resident here.

Mr. VICKREY. Who have declared their purpose to become citizens. We are not throwing the floodgates open by any means. Far, far, far from throwing the floodgates open. We are merely stating that we will be humane, we will be normal, and we will give a haven to those persecuted members of our own family. The number is relatively small.

Second, I would observe that the situation in the Near East is certainly unique. I am sure that nowhere else on the face of the earth can a more serious situation be found, and I doubt whether one can be found anywhere in history. We are dealing with people who, literally and absolutely, have no country of their own, and who, though they may have been born in a certain area and their parents and grandparents for generations have been born there, they are now, whether justly or unjustly is a secondary question, they are now absolutely being pushed right out into the ocean. There is no place on earth where they can go.

At this particular moment, wholly aside from the approximately 1,000,000 refugees that have been referred to as coming from Asia Minor and Thrace, a good many of whom are Greeks and Armenians, in addition to that 1,000,000 there are on this winter day as we sit here, in a country that is bitter cold and over ground that is covered thick with snow, being driven tens of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, of Armenians some of whose relatives are in this room—they are being compelled to leave the land of Turkey, the ships and provisions of the Near East Relief are keeping them alive until they can get to various ports to embark for an unknown destination.

The CHAIRMAN. If that condition exists, and I am sure it does, it would mean that all those moving people would become refugees within the meaning of this bill.

Mr. VICKREY. Yes; but only a small portion of them will have relatives in America.

The CHAIRMAN. But the number would be ever increasing if we attempt to take care of those we see at this moment as refugees with relatives in the United States.

Mr. VICKREY. But we have the usual restrictions with regard to illness and other disqualifications and the usual immigration laws that restrict certain undesirable classes. It affects only able-bodied, normal, well-balanced people who may be admitted.

The third point: For six or seven years I have had close relationships with the Greeks and Armenians in the United States and in the Near East. I have traveled from one end of the Near East to the other every summer for five years. I know the Armenians and the Greeks fairly well on both sides. This very week I have handled a check—it is not unusual, I do it many times a year—for \$17,000 from three Armenians in this country who contributed individually to movements with which I am connected. And they represent a somewhat larger group that have contributed something more than \$2,000,000 from purely Armenian sources for the relief of their unfortunate people overseas, without restrictions as to the method of distribution. In my mind these Armenians are the most industrious, frugal, the best-educated people that can be found anywhere in the Near East.

As to the probability of their becoming public charges, here in America there are approximately 100,000 Armenians. I personally, at least, have never met an Armenian beggar in America. I have met beggars of that strain of blood that I come from, and I have met indigent people of that strain of blood that flows through my veins, but I do not recall ever having been asked for a cent of money by an Armenian in the United States.

On the contrary, they are providing for their own people largely. Exclusive of this \$2,000,000 which the prosperous, thrifty Armenian citizens of our country have sent for general relief, unrestricted, we have handled another \$2,000,000, bringing the total to more than \$4,000,000, which we have spent, as Mr. Horton indicated, to care for their dear fathers and mothers and other relatives overseas.

I would like to introduce Miss Shaninian [indicating] without asking her to make any statement, although she can speak English fluently. She is a type of the Armenians now being debarred. She is in the United States under bond, having landed at Ellis Island three weeks ago. She was taken captive in 1915. Her father was a prominent merchant. Both her father and her mother were killed and the family scattered.

I have another letter from another Armenian. It was addressed to one of our former ambassadors. He is Mr. ———, a college graduate, and I want to pause just right here to say that the average college graduate in the Near East is an Armenian rather than of the other races there. They are the best educated classes. I have seen in the colleges, and especially in the rescue homes and orphanages, literally scores, even hundreds, of well educated, cultured Armenian girls of the type of Miss Shaninian, bearing the same type of Turkish tattoo on their faces as Miss Shaninian bears. These girls have just as much culture and education as the average American girl.

The one I speak of now is Miss ———, from whom I received a letter yesterday. She is at Ellis Island at this time. Her mother and father have been killed, but she has two brothers in this country. One of them is not only a college graduate but he is a college professor at Cornell University. He has been made Armenian instructor of American youth. He would like to have the privilege of caring for his sister. She has another brother, a musician, who gets \$150 a month. He is abundantly able to care for his sister and he would like to do it, but under the present law he can not do so.

I might have something different to say if we contemplated throwing down the immigration bars and saying "Come in."

Mr. KLECZKA. The relief would be granted not only to the Armenians but to the other groups that occupied this territory.

Mr. VICKREY. Yes.

Mr. KLECZKA. Has the Greek Government made any provision for her nationals that were driven from Smyrna?

Mr. VICKREY. All she can, and it has done a thing that the American Government refuses to do.

Mr. KLECZKA. What is that?

Mr. VICKREY. She gives help to the Armenians that come there. Probably there is no country impoverished as is Greece, yet despite her impoverished condition, the organization I represent to-day has more than 100,000 Armenian orphans occupying one of the palaces in the city of Athens, while Greece has 10,000 of her own citizens that would like to have a place on the floor.

Mr. RAKER. These people are citizens of Greece?

Mr. VICKREY. No; they are Armenians. It is the fellowship of suffering that causes the Greeks to care for these Armenians, while we have no room in our bounty for these persecuted peoples. The Lazarus who is lying at our gate is freely admitted while another poor nation, Greece, regardless of any claims Armenians may have to Greek hospitality, has under her control a palace that was once occupied by William, the Kaiser, on the Island of Corfu, and is caring for Armenians therein. I hope William will never enjoy that palace again. It would be the natural thing for the Greeks to turn that palace over to some of her own people; but, instead, she has done something we refuse to do. Greece has made that palace available for the Near East relief movement and we have in that palace to-day 3,148 Armenian orphans.

Mr. RAKER. Do you know how much America has contributed through different organizations and individuals to the Near East?

Mr. VICKREY. They have done it as individuals, not as a Congressional act. We have given \$70,000,000 for the support of these orphans, and it is fair to say that while Greece furnishes the palace, we pay for the food.

Mr. RAKER. Have we not contributed more than \$70,000,000?

Mr. VICKREY. It may be \$73,000,000. I have the whole figures.

Mr. RAKER. Beginning when?

Mr. VICKREY. In 1915. I erred a moment ago. The United States Government, in 1919, under Mr. Hoover, made a loan of \$12,000,000 to the Armenians, and this was spent for flour.

Mr. RAKER. East Thrace are Greeks?

Mr. VICKREY. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. Was not Smyrna Greek territory?

Mr. VICKREY. Chiefly. It was Greek in that most people residing in Smyrna were Greeks.

Mr. RAKER. What government had jurisdiction before the war?

Mr. VICKREY. The Turkish Government.

Mr. RAKER. Did not Greece have it?

Mr. VICKREY. Not in recent years. Smyrna and Constantinople have for generations at least been under the Turkish Government. Until the recent exodus there were more Christians than Turks in Constantinople. I will not say more Christians in Smyrna than Turks, but the more aggressive, thrifty element were Armenians and Greeks.

The Armenians alone lost in the Smyrna fire and by confiscation \$118,000,000 of Armenian money, from which they can hope to get no return. Persons who were once millionaires are now impoverished and in dire need. Some of these people would put many of us out of business.

Mr. RAKER. Are the Italians providing for the Italians and their relatives there?

Mr. VICKREY. That I can not answer.

The CHAIRMAN. You spoke about the Armenians putting us out of business?

Mr. VICKREY. I meant by that in point of mental and business acumen I suspected some of these men are better business men than I am.

The CHAIRMAN. Better business men in Greece than you are in America?

Mr. VICKREY. Yes; that might be equally significant.

Mr. RAKER. We had a Hindu before the committee, and I think every member of the committee would have doffed his hat to this man. He was exceptionally bright and well educated.

Mr. VICKREY. I do not know. I was only trying to bring out one point. This is not to open the floodgates of immigration.

The CHAIRMAN. This committee sat here this very hour one year ago and heard the same appeal for refugees then in Poland—almost the identical words.

Mr. RAKER. I am trying to get hold of my sympathetic feeling, pulling it out without showing that there is another situation. The American Government and the American people live here. We can not forget that. We just let our sympathy run away with us.

Mr. VICKREY. No; I think there is a possibility of the American Government being so prosperous, so rich, so self-complacent that it will go the way of ancient Rome.

Mr. RAKER. Where do you get that misinformation when you find people right in your own country starving and living in tents?

Mr. VICKREY. I should be happy to care for anybody starving in America.

The CHAIRMAN. How did ancient Rome go? It was by the infusion of other elements into her population.

Mr. VICKREY. Yes.

You spoke of Poland. Poland, of course, did have a government, although we may have different estimates of the strength of that government and the value of it. Likewise, when it comes to Russian refugees. Russia has a government, whatever may be our estimate of the strength and value of it; but nobody is being absolutely driven out into the sea from any country except Armenia.

Mr. KLECZKA. This is the point this bill bases this relief on—geographical grounds—giving relief to certain residents who lived in certain territory at a certain time. Do you not think a distinction should be made rather on the ground of allegiance? Do you not think that if there is a government in existence and it is able to take care of its nationals, we should look to that government for relief, and that if any relief is accorded it ought to be accorded to those who have no government at all to protect them?

Mr. VICKREY. Yes; I agree with you.

Mr. KLECZKA. In that case it would apply primarily to the Armenians who have no government, except a little territory in Soviet Russia, and who have no authority to look after them.

Mr. VICKREY. In regard to Greece, you have an impoverished people who have a million refugees thrown upon them and some of them are mothers, brothers, sisters, or other relatives of highly educated, prosperous Greeks who reside in this country.

Mr. KLECZKA. Of the two classes, do you not think that those who have no government and nobody to care for them should receive first attention?

Mr. VICKREY. I should say so. All through this law there is a supposition that the person to whom the applicant would primarily look is the son or the brother who has come to America, established his citizenship, perhaps acquired a fortune, and who would like to give a home to his mother and sisters; but under the present law he can not give any relief.

The CHAIRMAN. Then let us go into Bulgaria. Would you enlarge the definition of "refugee" or pass a new law?

Mr. VICKREY. Have unjust military operations made refugees from Bulgaria?

The CHAIRMAN. Not yet.

Mr. VICKREY. This law is short-lived. And I think it is wise to have it short-lived. It expires in a little more than a year. Poland has not compelled their people to leave the country.

Mr. RAKER. It becomes operative and limits the time. You spoke very enthusiastically in favor of these people that were driven out and have no relatives.

Mr. VICKREY. Yes; it is perfectly proper to have it terminate in a little over a year. We all have faith enough to believe that within a year's time things will so adjust themselves over there that people can get their bearings.

Mr. RAKER. Recently a gentleman who had traveled over that country appeared before this committee and stated that within 10 years there will be 25,000,000 or 30,000,000 refugees in that country that will want to come to America because of the political and racial conditions existing there.

Mr. VICKREY. That bill, hedged as it is by that clause about relatives, does not begin to open the gate.

Mr. RAKER. If you open the gate in favor of one, you can not shut it in the face of another.

Mr. VICKREY. Yes; because there is a great migration going on there. It is, so far as my knowledge goes, unprecedented.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not a fact that as refugees at this moment are being moved out and cared for others are pouring in, claiming to be of the type that are assailed by the Turkish people and taking the place of the original refugees, claiming to have been born in those places? Kurds and people from the south of Russia are coming in. Is the migration going on night and day?

Mr. VICKREY. I am not sure that I understand.

The CHAIRMAN. Here are a lot of little countries, and we call them the Near East. There are some on the Black Sea in foment—the people moving, all assumed to be refugees. We have these refugees now demanding the help of the civilized world, and the United States in particular.

Mr. VICKREY. I am quite certain that none but Turks will take the place of refugees in Asia Minor, and the Turks are not included in the bill and they are not applying in large numbers for admission to the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe the Turk is not admissible, because we deny admission to polygamists, etc.

Mr. VICKREY. I have with me a cablegram from Constantinople, a part of which I would like to read into the record. It says, in part:

"Approach Christmas finds Near East Relief working night and day removing Anatolian Constantinople orphans places greater security. It will memorable yuletide tens thousands who thank American assistance succeeded reaching new home.

"All Near East Relief orphanages Constantinople will evacuate by Christmas Day last departures 1,200 ex-Cushman's embarking 21st spending Christmas aboard ship whereon Cushman provided tree. Real American Christmas dinner with turkey planned for children 18,000 Greek-Armenian refugees now Constantinople. They will be guests Captain Rhodes aboard American destroyer *Litchfield*. In Armenia 20,000 orphans will participate Christmas celebration arranged by Near East Relief in American orphan city Alexandropol."

Mr. VICKREY. This cablegram is dated December 18, 1922, and is signed "Jacquith."

The CHAIRMAN. Many of the refugees that you have in mind at this moment are in Constantinople?

Mr. VICKREY. Yes; quite a number of them.

The CHAIRMAN. How many?

Mr. VICKREY. This cablegram says 18,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Where else are they?

Mr. VICKREY. A great many of them are in Greece temporarily. Others are coming out of Samosun.

The CHAIRMAN. Coming from where?

Mr. VICKREY. The places where some of our friends here to-day were born in Marston Sivas, and elsewhere in the interior of Asia.

The CHAIRMAN. Those places are in countries designated as what?

Mr. VICKREY. To use a sweeping phrase, in Turkey. We speak of Anatolia as a section of Turkey.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any in Armenia proper?

Mr. VICKREY. Under Soviet Russia there are about a million Armenians, but they are not refugees and do not come within the provisions of this bill.

Mr. WHITE. How many Armenians are still under territory subject to Turkish rule?

Mr. VICKREY. That is, of course, a very vague question. Mr. Nanson, commissioner of the League of Nations, recently estimated one and a quarter millions. But I think that may have been high at the time he made the estimate, and there has been a steady exodus out of that country since that estimate was made.

Mr. RAKER. How many refugees will this bill let into the United States?

Mr. VICKREY. It admits only those who have relatives in the United States.

Mr. RAKER. In your judgment, how many would it admit to the United States if it became a law?

Mr. VICKREY. I can give the figure as it came to me from high authority. It is 5,000.

Mr. WHITE. That is your judgment?

Mr. VICKREY. Yes; based upon what I have been told.

Mr. WHITE. It has been stated by the best authority available, after a most careful consideration of everything involved, that it might admit from 5,000 to 20,000.

Mr. RAKER. How many of these that have fled from these cities through the snow and drifts, and are in a feeble condition, could not be brought to this country?

Mr. VICKREY. A majority, because this bill excludes them.

Mr. RAKER. You would take 5,000 of them and let the remainder go?

Mr. VICKREY. I would rather save 5,000 than none. We all have, I think, a tender place in our hearts for sisters and brothers, and mothers and fathers, and those of our own blood, and this bill would make it possible at least to save those who are members of families who are citizens of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not mean to be offensive in asking questions. I ask you as a practical man if you think there is any difference from the feeling

that is centering on this committee, as is shown by telegrams and other communications received by it, that the public mind is going to be centered on the relief of a few thousands to the exclusion of a general relief which the Americans will give to the whole relief question? Is not this effort a drop in the bucket and is it not likely to weaken the move that would lead to a great Christian move to care for a suffering people by giving to them over there?

Mr. VICKREY. No; I do not think it will in the least affect the continuation of contributions of the people of America to enable these people to come here. I think it will, on the contrary, encourage the people of the United States to give more liberally. They will be encouraged by the knowledge that the Government of the United States is doing all it can for these miserable people.

Mr. RAKER. The witness put a very strong question to me a minute ago. You say there would be about 5,000 and a few more of these people that would come to this country. Could not these 5,000 be nicely, properly, and well cared for immediately, by sending them necessary things rather than sending for them to come here?

Mr. VICKREY. I do not see how, because the one is almost a debt continuous year after year, a subsidy to an able-bodied man or woman. That able-bodied one would like very much to come and join his brothers and sisters in the Greek candy shop here and become a self-supporting, productive citizen. There is no expense whatever if that able-bodied person comes and is cared for by those already having a competence.

Mr. RAKER. It is said that the Smyrna district is one of the greatest undeveloped countries in the world—that the land there will compare favorably with that in California. That being the case, why do we not think of providing for these people there and not bring them over here to take the places in the candy shops?

Mr. VICKREY. I am reminded that I sat in your office, Mr. Horton, four years ago. I was deeply impressed by what you told me—that the region of Smyrna and the hinterland were the richest places in the world—that, under a competent and proper government, they would compare favorably with southern California in productiveness.

Mr. RAKER. And northern California, too.

Mr. VICKREY. Yes; and I believed him.

Here is a sad fact. The Armenians fled from Smyrna because it was a question of fleeing or dying. This young lady on my left, Miss Shaubin'an, do you think she is going to return to Smyrna, the place where her mother and her father were killed, and where she herself was in prison, and where her brother was taken prisoner. Would anybody advise her to go back to Smyrna and try to reestablish herself?

The Armenian patriarch—I know him well—groans at the thought of his people going from the place where they have for centuries maintained homes. It is the power of the sword at the present time that makes it impossible for Christian people to remain on land which these Christian people have had for centuries.

I believe that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. We appreciate your statement, Mr. Vickrey. If there are no further questions to ask Mr. Vickrey, the hour of 1 o'clock having arrived, the committee will recess until 2 o'clock this afternoon.

The CHAIRMAN. The next gentleman to be heard is Mr. George Horton, of the State Department.

STATEMENT OF MR. GEORGE HORTON, STATE DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., FORMERLY CONSUL GENERAL IN CHARGE OF THE SMYRNA DISTRICT.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you leave Smyrna?

Mr. HORTON. I should like to say, if you will pardon me, before answering any questions at all, that I notice these questions here frequently take on the nature of opinions on various subjects. I should like to say that if I express any opinion, it is my own personal one and does not in any manner involve the responsibility of the State Department.

The CHAIRMAN. We are glad to have that statement. The committee endeavors at all times to protect witnesses and especially those from the State Department, so that if any improper questions are asked, you may either decline to answer them or eliminate them when you revise your statement.

Mr. HORTON. I would further inform the committee, and have it understood, that I have had no instructions from the State Department as to the nature of any answers to be made here. In other words, anything I give does not come from the State Department.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you like to proceed with a statement to pave the way?

Mr. HORTON. I do not know exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. I may say that the committee admits the situation as it exists and has held hearings for two days, devoted principally to the massacres and the action of the Turkish Government in permitting those not massacred to move out, and made a little study of the kind of people in Anatolia and allied regions, and is now considering the advisability of reporting this bill. The question is, Should we stand on the question of the definition of "refugees," as found in lines 4 and 9 of the first page of the bill. It reads:

"That when used in this act the term 'refugee' shall mean any person who has fled from his home since the 1st of October, 1921, and was resident, prior to fleeing from his home in (a) the territory belonging to Turkey as defined by the treaty of Sevres, or (b) other territory occupied by Turkish military or civil authorities since October, 1920."

Mr. HORTON. I can make a brief statement that will give the committee an idea of what the scope of my knowledge is. I was in Smyrna at the time of the giving way of the Greek Army and the arrival of the Turkish troops in Smyrna. I was there during three days of massacre, and I was there when the city was set on fire. I sent for naval units to come and help in the disaster, and three destroyers were sent me.

When the situation became very critical, I devoted my entire time to finding, and rounding up, and herding, or concentrating the American Colonies in a place patrolled by American Marines, and under my general jurisdiction. When the fire got so near the consulate that it was impossible to remain in it any longer, I took my American Colony and evacuated them to Athens, where I found lodgings and got money for them. They arrived there absolutely destitute, and there were among them men and families who had previously been in a good financial condition, and who had not only been self-supporting, but producing and exporting.

Mr. KLEZKA. All this happened in October?

Mr. HORTON. The fire in Smyrna broke out some time in the forenoon or toward noon of September 13, and spread with such great rapidity, and the inhabitants collected in such great crowds about the consulate, which is near the harbor, that, at the request of the senior naval officer present, I took the colony away about 6 o'clock, September 13, when the flames were already approaching the consulate, and took them to Athens, where I cared for them. When I reached Athens, I got into immediate telegraphic communication with the State Department, and it instructed me to remain there and look after the American Colony, which I did for about two weeks, or until a man was sent. This was Mr. Oscar S. Helzer, one of the consuls at Constantinople. I was distributing aid to the members of the American Colony, who were a few native-born citizens of the United States, but largely naturalized citizens. Relatives of these people had been separated in very many cases from the American citizens and we established a sort of bureau of information. We found a good many of them had been killed or died, and others kept showing up from time to time, and through instructions from the State Department, from whom I received a sufficient sum of money, we gave succor, so many drachmas a day. I appointed a committee for that purpose, and they gave, also, succor to the dependent relatives of these American citizens. The idea of this appropriation was that it should be used for the immediate relief of these American citizens and their dependent relatives, and the repatriation of American citizens.

I understand there are still in Athens a large number being relieved by us, and the question of repatriation of the dependent relatives is now the burning question. I could control all these men because I brought my books with me. We could control the fact that such and such a man was an American citizen and had come to Smyrna to sell property or for other business. He would show up in a day or two with his sister, who had two or three children and whose husband had been massacred. She would not have a cent, the children were starving, and we would have to help them. Or maybe this American citizen's mother would show up, and he would say, "How can I go to America and leave these dear relatives behind? If I am allowed to take them to

America with me, I can keep them." These American citizens usually have business interests here and are perfectly able to take care of these relatives in Smyrna over here. You can not ask any man to accept free passage to the United States and leave his old mother or father or his sister or his children in Smyrna. That is the position of those people.

Mr. KLECZKA. What was the membership of the American colony under your charge?

Mr. HORTON. It was not large. I would say about 200.

Mr. KLECZKA. What would you estimate as being the number of dependent relatives of American citizens?

Mr. HORTON. They have a great many dependent relatives. The number would not be very great. I could not say; but the matter of repatriating the American citizens and their American relatives would not involve the bringing over of a great many people from Smyrna, and Smyrna is all I know about.

Mr. TAYLOR. How long did you serve in the capacity of consul general?

Mr. HORTON. Nine years. I went there from Saloniki. Besides consular work I handled many communications. After the signing of the armistice, and after the landing of the Greeks, I was sent back to Smyrna.

Mr. TAYLOR. What was the population of Smyrna before the fire?

Mr. HORTON. It would be difficult to say, because there were many Greek troops there. I should say about 500,000.

Mr. TAYLOR. You had been serving in that capacity in Smyrna for about nine years?

Mr. HORTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAYLOR. The Greek troops, though, had not been there very long?

Mr. HORTON. I do not mean the Greek troops from the interior; I mean the garrison that used that city as a base. There were about 10,000, and quite a number of Greeks had come from old Greece to establish themselves there. There had been an increase. The old figure was about 450,000 population, but at the time of the disaster it was about 500,000.

Mr. TAYLOR. What is the population of Smyrna since this disaster?

Mr. HORTON. I will give you an estimate. There were, say, 165,000 Turks in Smyrna, and the remaining inhabitants of Smyrna were non-Moslem, 50,000 or 60,000 Jews, 150,000 Greeks, 25,000 Armenians, Italians, Englishmen. The Greeks must have been more at the time of the disaster. Everybody, practically, has cleared out except the Turks. I should not think there are more than 150,000 people in Smyrna at this time.

Mr. TAYLOR. This massacre was not confined to Armenians alone, was it?

Mr. HORTON. The massacre, when it commenced, broke particularly upon the heads of the Armenians. The Armenian quarter was systematically pillaged and massacred from one end to the other and then fired. The Armenians were the ones who were particularly hunted down and abused in every possible way. The commander-in-chief of the Turkish armies announced that his troops had become so excited that he could not control them. The fury broke out on the Armenians. There were, however, a great many Greeks killed.

Mr. TAYLOR. What atrocities did this commander-in-chief complain about?

Mr. HORTON. It was claimed that the Greek army, in its retreat, set fire to villages and killed a good many Turks. Doubtless there was a good deal of truth in it, but I do not know, and I can only testify to things I saw.

Mr. TAYLOR. This was done willfully, without any provocation?

Mr. HORTON. I do not want to put myself in the position of apologizing for the Greeks in any way. I simply want to state facts. I was told by the Greek general-in-chief that if they could not make any arrangements with the Allies, have some sort of arrangement whereby they could make a treaty and protect themselves in falling back, they would be obliged to devastate the country. Having that statement from him, I took it for granted that they did burn villages. They must have very generally ravaged and devastated the country on their descent and they must have killed a good many Turks. I know that a great many Greek troops also were killed by the Turks, all of whom were armed. One should state both sides of the question. All stragglers had their throats cut. Greeks and Turks both were killed. Anybody that will think of it will see that it must be so.

While the Greeks would ravage the country and kill the Turks, yet it was not exactly a Sunday-school picnic from any point of view.

Mr. TAYLOR. How far is it from Smyrna to Athens?

Mr. HORTON. I do not know. I left Smyrna on the dest oyer at about 8 or 9 o'clock in the evening. It was dark, and we could see the whole, vast conflagration. I arrived in Athens early in the morning. The destroyer went about 30 miles an hour, I think.

Mr. TAYLOR. But the route taken by the Greek Army is what I had in mind. How far is it according to the route taken by the Greek Army?

Mr. HORTON. The army could not retreat that way. The army fell back on Smyrna, passed through and went down the coast to Chesni, where it was covered by the Greek battleships and embarked on transports.

Mr. VAILE. Xerxes tried that march once without success?

Mr. HORTON. Yes, sir; he went around by Constantinople.

Mr. VAILE. During the burning of Smyrna, was there any considerable number of British, Italian, French, and American marines in the city? You said that you had an American colony protected by American marines.

Mr. HORTON. The water front is down here [indicating]. Here [indicating] is one street next to the water front called the parallel street. The consulate was on the parallel street on the corner, so that from the consulate windows we could see the sea.

In this quarter was the American theater, a large building in which I told them they could sleep, remain, or take refuge. I had a machine gun and about 20 marines there. I had 20 bluejackets at the theater, 2 or 3 in the consulate, and between 20 and 30 doing patrol duty elsewhere.

Mr. TAYLOR. Were there any other American marines ashore?

Mr. HORTON. There were a few in the Young Women's Christian Association, which was filled with frightened refugees and in which were some of the ladies attached to the organization. The ladies showed great heroism. There were some bluejackets there all the time.

Mr. TAYLOR. About how many?

Mr. HORTON. Four or five, I should think; not more than that. There were a number of marines at a suburb 4 or 5 miles out of Smyrna where the American college is located.

Mr. TAYLOR. How many did you have there?

Mr. HORTON. A detachment of a dozen or so. I do not remember the exact figure.

Mr. TAYLOR. Were there any British marines ashore?

Mr. HORTON. Just a moment. There is the Standard Oil Co. around the quay. The quay is in the shape of a semicircle, and the Standard Oil Co. is at the end of the half-moon at a small suburb between the two places. One of my two destroyers moored at the pier of the Standard Oil Co. and remained there.

Mr. VAILE. Were there any British marines ashore?

Mr. HORTON. Very few.

Mr. VAILE. How many, do you think?

Mr. HORTON. They were out of favor with the Turks. They could have landed a good many if they had wanted to, but there were few on shore. They were engaged mostly in getting the British colony together. I know there was a very distinguished Britisher who was a doctor and had been in the Indian service. He had two or three daughters and a servant, and some Turkish soldiers broke into his house at Burnabat and severely wounded the doctor. The British consul asked me for aid. He asked me to send automobiles.

Mr. RAKER. This is the British?

Mr. HORTON. The British asked me to send automobiles.

Mr. RAKER. The doctor was a British subject?

Mr. HORTON. Yes, sir; he was a distinguished retired surgeon of the British Army, and was there living on his pension.

Mr. VAILE. How many British marines were there altogether?

Mr. HORTON. In the city there were few. The British had a dreadnought there. They had several units. And the French and the Italians also.

Mr. VAILE. How many marines did they land?

Mr. HORTON. Very few.

Mr. VAILE. A hundred?

Mr. HORTON. I should not think so.

Mr. VAILE. How many did the French land?

Mr. HORTON. The French landed a few at the consulate.

Mr. VAILE. As many as 50?

Mr. HORTON. The French had some—a dozen or so, at the consulate, and inside of the Credit Lyonnais bank. They were not in evidence very much, and I should not think more than 50 or 60 strong. I did not count them.

Mr. VAILE. Fifty or sixty.

Mr. HORTON. Yes, I should say so.

Mr. VAILE. Were there any Italian marines there?

Mr. HORTON. A few.

Mr. VAILE. Were there 50 or 60 of them?

Mr. HORTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. VAILE. Were these different marines patrolling the quay or any place where the refugees were congregating?

Mr. HORTON. Not while I was there.

Mr. VAILE. You left on what day?

Mr. HORTON. September 13, the night of the fire.

Mr. RAKER. Did the fire commence on September 13?

Mr. HORTON. Yes, sir; about noon of the 13th.

Mr. RAKER. Do you know how long it lasted?

Mr. HORTON. It was raging and had spread over a great part of the city while I was there. The last I saw of it was when I was out on the ocean. How long it continued I do not know.

Mr. RAKER. There were the Armenian quarters, the Latin quarters, the English quarters, and the Greek quarters. Did all those various parts of the city suffer by the fire?

Mr. HORTON. It started in the Armenian quarter. It swept down through the Armenian quarter, spread to the quay, and through the fine residential quarter, destroying nearly all of it, and swept on toward the north. I believe, destroying all the best part of the city. The Turkish quarters were left intact, and the Jewish quarters, which were away off down in another part of the city, were not burned.

Mr. RAKER. As I understand, there are three parts of the city that were not destroyed, the Turkish quarter, the Jewish quarter, and the Standard Oil property.

Mr. HORTON. The Standard Oil property was not destroyed. The suburb in which it was located was not burned, but there was a great deal of pillaging and killing in those suburbs.

Mr. RAKER. Was that suburb Armenian or Turkish?

Mr. HORTON. Mostly Greek, and some Turks. Those suburbs are mostly Greek.

Mr. RAKER. Speaking of the Greek and the Armenian, you make a special distinction. Did the Greek and the Turk have special quarters?

Mr. HORTON. There were Armenian and Greek quarters, but many wealthy Armenians had houses also along the quay. The Armenian section was mostly a distinct quarter.

Mr. RAKER. Did you observe any particular maltreatment of any particular nationality or class of people while you were there, before September 13?

Mr. HORTON. There seemed to be a definite plan to clean out the Armenians and loot and kill them, and carry off the Greeks to deal with them at their leisure.

Mr. VAILE. Was the American Consulate destroyed?

Mr. HORTON. Yes, sir; completely.

Mr. KLECZKA. Was it pillaged first?

Mr. HORTON. No, sir. The Greek army passed through Smyrna for several days in a state of extreme fatigue, and many of them without arms, and there was no clash of any kind, and no harm done by them. When they went through Smyrna, they went through like beaten dogs. They simply filed along the quay and disappeared in the distance. The last of the army passed through Smyrna on the evening of the 8th. The Kemal troops came on the 9th and the massacre occurred that evening. The fire broke out in the Armenian quarter at noon on September 13.

Mr. KLECZKA. If I understand correctly, when the massacre started the Greek army had evacuated.

Mr. HORTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. KLECZKA. So that the Greeks and the Armenians were at the mercy of the Turks?

Mr. HORTON. Yes, sir; the city was in the hands of the Turks.

Mr. RAKER. Was the English embassy or consulate destroyed?

Mr. HORTON. They had a beautiful place and it was completely destroyed.

Mr. RAKER. Was the French consulate destroyed?

Mr. HORTON. The French consulate was destroyed, yes.

Mr. RAKER. Was the Italian consulate destroyed?

Mr. HORTON. It was a rented building on a back street and farther down nearer the Point. Whether the fire reached it or not I do not know.

Mr. RAKER. As a historical fact, were there not English marines there to protect and save the English consulate and its people if they had aided?

Mr. HORTON. They could not have saved the consulate because there was not sufficient fire apparatus in town to check a conflagration of that fury and extent. They did evacuate their colony and got it out of town, taking it to Malta.

Mr. RAKER. And the same way with the French?

Mr. HORTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. And the same way with the Italians?

Mr. HORTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Was there any information sent out before the massacre started on September 9 to the effect that it was going to occur? Did either of these consulates have knowledge, including the American consulate, that you know of?

Mr. HORTON. The population understood from certain quarters that the Turkish troops would behave perfectly and that there was no need of fear. I, myself, felt a little apprehensive but I did not do anything to spread a panic or excite many people, except to get the whole of them together as much as I could.

Mr. RAKER. Is it your observation, from the fact that there were French warships in the harbor with enough marines aboard, that this disaster could have been prevented had it been desired?

Mr. HORTON. That is a question which I do not care to answer.

Mr. RAKER. I was just asking for facts. I do not want you to give any opinion. All I want is the fact to correspond with what you told us when you started.

Mr. HORTON. I do not believe I would better answer that question.

Mr. RAKER. Did you see any persons maltreated of any of the inhabitants?

Mr. HORTON. Absolutely. I did; most hideous treatment.

Mr. RAKER. In just a short way, tell the committee what it was. Do not go into details, for I just want a little information about it.

Mr. HORTON. The Turks have a special antipathy that amounts to a deep hatred for the Armenians. I saw about 100 old men with faces bleeding from sword cuts and wounds inflicted by Turkish soldiers marching in front of the consulate. On either side were Turkish soldiers with drawn bayonets. At the end was a bandmaster who would cry out "Hurrah for Khewal!" Every time he would say that they would all cry out "Hurrah for Khewal!" These men went through the streets yelling that. I saw the refugees going through town staggering, some of them carrying their sick. I think if people in America could actually see those things it would give them a more vivid impression. I saw these refugees, who were formerly prosperous business men, staggering through town, many of them carrying their sick on their backs. And I saw them treated abominably by the Turks. I saw a very respectable old woman with a Turk following behind her with a musket. He knocked her down by a blow of his musket. Some of those people in that country have told me stories about the treatment given by the Turks, and they would all say, "For God's sake, do not mention my name, for I expect to be in business in Turkey again."

Mr. VAILE. What kind of people were those?

Mr. HORTON. Native-born American citizens, one of them manager of a big American concern. One was the manager of a big American tobacco firm. He told me one day that he had just witnessed something horrible around the corner. Four or five Turkish soldiers ran up to an Armenian, cut his wrists off and then split his head open.

The CHAIRMAN. He did not want anything said about it?

Mr. HORTON. He did not want his name mentioned. The head of a big Dutch firm, a man of great credence and a gentleman that was not to be doubted. He had a private yacht. He saw a lady and gentleman, a married couple, with a small child wading into the water. When they got in above their waists, he jumped into a small rowboat, picked them up, and

brought them to the shore. He asked the couple what they were going to do, and they told him they were going to kill themselves.

This Dutch gentleman took this couple with their child up to the door of a building filled with refugees and asked that they be taken in. This was refused, and he left them on the doorstep to await their fate. For this you must not blame anyone, because there was an order saying that anybody taking in an Armenian would be court-martialed and punished.

Mr. RAKER. Would that include Americans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Italians?

Mr. HORTON. The foreign colonies were very much afraid, because they thought that if a report was made about the Armenians, it would endanger the lives of their colonies.

Four or five Turkish soldiers dashed up to the door of the American consulate and claimed we had an Armenian in there. I think I had three blue-jackets in there, all of whom jumped up and fixed bayonets. For a moment we came near having the consulate invaded. They found their Armenian a few minutes afterward just outside and killed him.

Mr. WHITE. How many Turkish soldiers were there in the army of occupation after the evacuation of the Greeks, at the time of this massacre?

Mr. HORTON. I can not say. The general impression was that very few came into Smyrna, probably four or five thousand.

Mr. RAKER. How many Greek soldiers evacuated Smyrna?

Mr. HORTON. We do not know how many passed through. Mr. Sterghyades, the governor general, told me the Greek army of occupation was about 200,000, but they did not all go through Smyrna. That was for the whole district. Some of them went out to the north. Some 40,000 were sent to Constantinople and 30,000 were captured.

The CHAIRMAN. And for that the Greek officials were executed by court-martial, for that particular expedition.

Mr. HORTON. Yes, sir; for that, in part.

Mr. WHITE. You stated a moment ago in your testimony that the Greeks had undoubtedly burned some cities or villages in their retreat.

Mr. HORTON. I do not know, but all the evidence is to that effect, and the Greek general told me that if he was compelled to evacuate he would have to lay waste the country.

Mr. WHITE. Do you know whether the villages that were burned were villages which had been occupied by Greeks, non-Moslems, or Armenians, and had been abandoned in their flight, and that it was the purpose to destroy property that would otherwise fall into the hands of the Turks? Would you like to say anything about that?

Mr. HORTON. I think some of them had been abandoned and some had not. I know that in the Greek sphere of occupation there were a good many Turks living in their villages and working peacefully with the Greeks. Some of those were doubtless abandoned villages and some were not.

Mr. WHITE. Would you like to state to the committee something of the habits and the character of these agriculturists? Were they the Greeks? And were they an industrious, efficient, prosperous class of people generally?

Mr. HORTON. Smyrna was one of the most prosperous cities on the Mediterranean. The Greek element of that part of Asia Minor was a progressive, rather up-to-date agricultural element. The Turk is a primitive farmer, who farms along old-fashioned lines. A good many of the Greeks came to America and get new methods of agriculture. A Greek first introduced the cultivation of the best brands of tobacco into that region and had a large tobacco farm. The Greeks were practically the sole cultivators of the Sultaniva grape, the best quality of which is raised there. When the Greeks were expelled from that region in the beginning of the Great War, all those agriculturists, numbering 350,000 or 400,000, were driven out. Some of them were taken into the interior and some of them took refuge in the island. About 90,000 Turks, I think, were put in their villages all along the coast, from above the old city of Pergamum clear down to Lydia, around the whole coast. They destroyed all the houses. Some of the prettiest farm houses and villages that I have ever seen were located there. It was terraced like Italian cultivation. They are good gardeners and farmers. The Turks dug up the vineyards to get the roots for firewood, and then made a ruin of practically the whole country. When the Greeks landed in 1910, a large number of those people who had been expelled, perhaps 50,000 of them, came back and took shelter in their ruined houses and in tents, and took a few boards to make a room. They worked

like bees until driven out this time, and they had restored a large percentage of their vineyards and farms.

Mr. WHITE. In addition to the religious and racial prejudice against the Greeks and Armenians, is not the very fact that these Greeks and Armenians are industrious and prosperous at the bottom of the Turks' antipathy and hatred?

Mr. HORTON. I have long thought so. If you gentlemen will just recollect Turkish history, you will find that the Turk is nonprogressive. People who have traveled in that country at one time and returned to it much later have never been able to discover any improvement. It is said that there has not been any improvement during the last 500 years. The only thing they know and have a genius for is making war. From public speeches I have heard made by some of the young Turks who have an education, I believe they feel a jealousy toward the other races in Turkey by reason of the progress of those races.

Mr. WHITE. Do you know whether that is an habitual thing? A rather general situation, for the Turk to graft the foreign population, the manufacturers and business men, occasionally? I have had an impression that the Turk is an expert at graft. The political situation is such that he had a wonderful opportunity to graft from the more prosperous foreign population, and that he does so habitually at every opportunity, and that they submit to it. I am not speaking of Smyrna particularly, but of the foreign population in Asiatic Turkey and in Constantinople, and they submit to it because they are a political minority and a racial minority.

Mr. HORTON. I think I can answer that question, but before I do so I would like to ask whether the proceedings of this committee are to be published in the newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN. The meetings are open and a good many newspaper men are present. As I stated before, if you do not care to answer, the committee will not insist.

Mr. RAKER. Was the property of yourself and your wife, or either, taken from you or the consulate by the Turkish Army?

Mr. HORTON. No, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Was the property of the consulate belonging to the American Government taken by the Turkish Army?

Mr. HORTON. No, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Any of it?

Mr. HORTON. No, sir; not that I know of. My property was all destroyed by fire. I did not get anything out.

Mr. RAKER. Did you see or hear of young women along the quay being taken out of the crowd and their heads cut off in the presence of the crowd and their heads dropped into the bay?

Mr. HORTON. I did not see that.

Mr. RAKER. Did you hear of or see any maltreatment of the women by violation in the streets in the presence of relatives and friends and in the presence of soldiers, both English, French, and Italian, in broad daylight?

Mr. HORTON. You refer particularly to the violation of women?

Mr. RAKER. I do.

Mr. HORTON. I saw nothing of that myself, but I heard of it. But I saw girls who had been violated.

Mr. RAKER. In open day before the officers? That statement has been made, and I want to learn, if possible, whether, with American soldiers and marines and French soldiers and marines present, such a thing could really exist.

Mr. HORTON. Such a thing could have been possible.

Mr. RAKER. With these marines present?

Mr. HORTON. Such a thing could have been, but I did not see it. It could be possible because the bluejackets that landed were too few, and they did not interfere with what was going on.

Mr. RAKER. To your knowledge, were any of these Turks in American uniform?

Mr. HORTON. No, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Did you hear or learn anything of that kind?

Mr. HORTON. No, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Had it occurred with your men present, would you have been likely to have it called to your attention?

Mr. HORTON. I did not see any of the Turkish soldiers in American uniform. You asked me whether if there had been I would have known it.

Mr. RAKER. Would it have been likely, when you were there between the 9th and the 13th and when you went back?

Mr. HORTON. I think I would have heard of it.

Mr. RAKER. Do you know from your own knowledge whether or not the Turks in invading Smyrna used American ammunition and provisions?

Mr. HORTON. I do not know anything about that.

Mr. RAKER. The Greeks had possession of this territory, surrendered it to the Turks, the English were present, the Americans were present, the Italians were present, and the French were present with destroyers, warships, and marines. There were at least between 500 and 3,000 marines present. This was a war between these two peoples and these four great powers stood by and permitted the performance to break out, as you have described to this committee. Is that true?

Mr. HORTON. I would not want to say they permitted it.

Mr. RAKER. It was done.

Mr. HORTON. The historical fact is that they were there and that it was done.

Mr. WHITE. Would you care to say it was not a war at all, it was a massacre?

Mr. HORTON. The occurrences in Smyrna were not in the nature of war. The Greek army had left before the Turkish troops arrived.

Mr. WHITE. I want to change it to say as a historical fact that the things did occur as I have presented them, whether it was permitted willfully.

Mr. HORTON. All the things we know of did occur and the ships were there.

Mr. WHITE. And the men were there?

Mr. HORTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. And to have interfered would have been an act of war.

Mr. HORTON. I do not know about that. I am not competent to judge.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you a question. Did you have any or much difficulty with the viséing of passes for Armenians and Syrians coming out through Smyrna during the last year and a half? Did you have more applications than you could use on account of the quota?

Mr. HORTON. I have not exhausted my quota. When I arrived in Athens I had 100 on my quota. In Athens I did not have time to use them up.

The CHAIRMAN. A year ago, before the quota was exhausted, did you have any difficulty with the viséing situation?

Mr. HORTON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Your quota was not exhausted?

Mr. HORTON. The year before I believe my quota was exhausted.

The CHAIRMAN. Preliminary to this proposal to admit refugees from a certain territory, who fled after a certain date, is the bill to take certain action that would admit refugees at immigrant stations here, and among those are 31 Armenians and Syrians at Angel Island, Calif., and 30 and odd at Ellis Island. These last named have recently been transferred to Philadelphia, where they have a fine immigration station but no immigrants. Many of these 61 people are insane, feeble-minded, tubercular, and persons suffering from trachoma, etc. Have you any views as to whether any of these refugees actually at the port, suffering with these diseases and ailments, should not be admitted now?

Mr. HORTON. That would be a personal opinion. The condition being as you describe it, I should think they would be undesirable immigrants. Could they not, as a matter of economy, be placed in some institution where they could be taken care of and later taken home?

The CHAIRMAN. What would you do; to what institution would you send them? Here we have among the refugees that have reached the gates of the United States at the Pacific and the Atlantic sides, many who are diseased and unfit to enter our country. What would you, Doctor Lovejoy, do with them?

Doctor LOVEJOY. There are, as I understand, only 60 of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Doctor LOVEJOY. How many of these are diseased?

The CHAIRMAN. About 30.

Doctor LOVEJOY. I think, perhaps, that is an exaggeration, and perhaps you would find only two or three. Those should be subjected to the same law that affect other people.

The CHAIRMAN. How many?

Doctor LOVEJOY. It would be altogether unlikely that there are 30 diseased.

The CHAIRMAN. I am sure it is between 20 and 30, this sifting down process having reduced these to this particular number, 61, at the several ports. The question arises, "What shall we do with them? Can you admit them under bond, and can you send them anywhere?"

Doctor LOVEJOY. I do not know what the laws are.

Mr. RAKER. Irrespective of what the law is, you would not admit them?

Doctor LOVEJOY. It would depend on whether they can be admitted.

Mr. RAKER. I left a meeting of 500 men just now that are down here in an effort to keep out one fig, but here you are turning these diseased people loose and destroying the health of the community.

Mr. WHITE. Who proposes to turn them loose?

Mr. RAKER. I am asking the question.

Mr. WHITE. She is competent and can answer it.

Doctor LOVEJOY. Does this not bring up quite a different question. What our laws should do, as it seems to me, is to provide for the inspection of immigrants before they leave the Old World.

The CHAIRMAN. If you will write a plan to have that done, we will put it into law at once. Can you write a plan?

Doctor LOVEJOY. No, sir.

Mr. WHITE. I would like to ask that Mr. Horton be allowed to proceed.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you anything more to say?

Mr. HORTON. The morality of nations seems to be entirely different from the morality of individuals. For instance, if a person were sick and came to you for help because he had no one to look out for him, you would take that person in and do your best for him. I do not believe in bringing sick and diseased people into this country.

Mr. RAKER. If you had a home with your wife, your sons, and your daughters, and a man came along with the smallpox, you would not let him in?

Mr. HORTON. I would not let him into the home, but I would give him my last cent to provide for him.

Mr. RAKER. These governments are making arrangements to allow these people to return to their own homes in Smyrna.

Mr. HORTON. They can not return there, I think it is very evident. The Turks refuse to let them come back.

Mr. WHITE. Can you state to this committee, if you are informed, as to what the usual treatment of old persons is by their relatives? Are their mothers and fathers well cared for? I am referring to the Armenians and Greeks.

Mr. HORTON. The Armenians and Greeks are distinguished for the care they take of their old people.

Mr. WHITE. I have heard that.

Mr. HORTON. If there is anything on earth a Greek or Armenian will do, it is to take good care of his people. They send money, too, and go after them.

The CHAIRMAN. We might feel sure that if refugees are admitted, they will soon be desirous of sending for more of their relatives, as long as the supply holds out.

Mr. WHITE. I shall propose an amendment to the second section of this bill, in view of that proposition.

Mr. HORTON. Canada has a system of examination for prospective immigrants before they leave the other side. I am familiar with the details of that.

Mr. VAILE. Do you know in what countries that is established?

Mr. HORTON. No, sir; but I know to a considerable degree it is effective, but I do not know in what countries it is established.

Mr. VAILE. I think you will find it is established in other British territory only.

Mr. HORTON. You may be right.

The CHAIRMAN. And Canada now is not alluring to the class of people who seek to come to the United States. She has a population of only 7,000,000 or less, and she has unlimited public land.

She succeeds in getting a higher grade of immigrants than we do.

Mr. VAILE. Because she has plenty of good land and we have none left.

The CHAIRMAN. It might interest those here to learn that ———, from Mexico, has made the statement that his country would like to receive any number of these refugees, up to many thousands. Let that news be published around the world, and let steps be taken toward placing those refugees in Mexico.

A gentleman has just told me that the Brazilian ambassador told him that he is willing to take 5,000 of these.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Vickrey can not attend at any other time, and I ask that if Mr. Horton is through Mr. Vickrey may be permitted to give his statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions to be asked Mr. Horton. If not, we will thank him for his contribution and allow him to go.

AFTER RECESS.

The committee reassembled at 2 o'clock p. m., pursuant to recess.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Weston wants to take the train at 3 o'clock, and I should like to have him heard now.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, let us hear him now. Give your name and address, Mr. Weston.

STATEMENT OF G. K. WESTON, EAST ORANGE, N. J.

Mr. WESTON. My name is G. W. Weston, East Orange; traveling salesman by profession and former major in the Army. That is one reason why I am here.

The thing that I wanted to bring up before this committee is just a personal matter. I have been interested in the American Legion boys who have families overseas that they are trying to get in. I am a member of the American Legion. I am not speaking for the Legion but I am speaking for some of the individual members. We have in this room here to-day a young man whose mother and sister are now—

The CHAIRMAN (Interposing). Before you get to that young man, let us see what Legion boys you represent.

Mr. WESTON. I am a member of the Emmet Evans Post, Bangor, Pa. I am representing this young man in particular, and I know of other cases which have come to my attention, traveling over the country as I do. Legion boys who have come to me and said they have relatives overseas that they would like to bring over here.

The CHAIRMAN. From all the countries overseas?

Mr. WESTON. In those countries that we are talking about now.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you make your appeal to embrace the relatives of all Legion boys were citizens but who put on the uniform and served the United States, or in behalf of those from any particular countries?

Mr. WESTON. I am appealing on behalf of American citizens who came from these countries and this bill specifically covers this. This young man here is an Armenian.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not make an appeal in behalf of Polish-American citizens who fought in the Army, because the fact is that those Polish boys can bring their families in because the quota is not taken, as I understand it?

Mr. WESTON. Now, the difference in the quota between Russia or Poland and all of this country of the Near East, you will find, is considerable. I believe that the total quota assigned for an entire year for Armenia and Syria and all of these countries is about 2,300 as compared with Russia with a quota of between 20,000 and 30,000. Now it seems that the Russian quota was not taken, and when we bring up an argument or anybody else brings up the argument that these Russians should be included in this sort of bill, if you will refer to your statistics you will find that the Russian quotas never have been taken.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, but the quota is based on the number of people of certain nationalities in the country on a certain date of census.

Mr. WESTON. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And your Armenian people were not here at that date and your Russian people were. It has been established on that basis.

Mr. WESTON. I see. Well, the fact remains that we have soldiers who fought for this country, who have mothers and sisters right here, as this young man, who has a mother and sister right down at Ellis Island. He is willing to give a guaranty of a thousand dollars apiece if they could land, rather than have them sent back.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to see them land.

Mr. WESTON. That is just one thing I would like to bring out, that the American Legion, at least, will back up any such proposition as this. He comes with a letter from his own post, saying that they will go to any length in order

to see that this mother and sister are landed. This is one argument in favor of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. No; that is an argument in favor of additional legislation outside of this bill. The mere fact that his mother and sister happen to be from some locality that might be embraced within the very limited definition of "refugee" is, in my opinion, an argument against the bill. He is not the only one who wore the uniform and can not bring his mother and sister here on account of quota restrictions.

Mr. WESTON. We have never heard of any cases of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. We have had many of them here. The Polish quota will be exhausted in another month, then we will hear it from that on until July. We had it here all last year.

Mr. WESTON. Well, I want to say that I have been over in that country three years ago and conditions were terrible then, and I know that the conditions must have been all the more horrible during the Smyrna disaster, and from then on, than they were three years ago when I was there.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have the young man's people been at Ellis Island?

Rev. M. J. KALADJIAN. Since December 3.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does he live? We will hear him.

STATEMENT OF MR. DIKORN NAZARETIAN, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

Mr. NAZARETIAN. I live in Birmingham, Ala. I have been away; I traveled 1,400 miles to see my mother.

Mr. WESTON. He has traveled 1,400 miles and tried to get papers through for them.

The CHAIRMAN. How old is your sister?

Mr. NAZARETIAN. My sister is 27 years old.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been in the United States.

Mr. NAZARETIAN. Since 1913.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you go into the Army?

Mr. NAZARETIAN. In 1918.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you drafted?

Mr. NAZARETIAN. I enlisted.

The CHAIRMAN. In 1918?

Mr. NAZARETIAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. When were you discharged?

Mr. NAZARETIAN. I was discharged in 1919.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you serve?

Mr. NAZARETIAN. I served right here at Camp Humphrey, Va.; Fifty-first Engineers.

Mr. WESTON. He was injured in the kitchen, I believe. Something exploded in the kitchen and blew his eye out.

(Mr. Nazaretian exhibited his discharge from the Army.)

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I wish we could help you. Where were you born?

Mr. NAZARETIAN. I was born in Turkey. I am a resident of a different country. I belong to Uncle Sam now.

Mr. WESTON. He is a naturalized citizen.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he naturalized before he went into the Army?

Mr. NAZARETIAN. No; I have this paper right here now.

Mr. WESTON. When were you naturalized?

Mr. NAZARETIAN. In 1918.

Mr. RAKER. He was naturalized by virtue of the provisions authorizing service men to be naturalized?

Mr. NAZARETIAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WESTON. He is married to an American girl.

Mr. NAZARETIAN. To-day I leave my wife and children 1,400 miles to go and see my mother. My mother not starve. Uncle Sam's needs every one of these poor soldiers; the poor soldier needs Uncle Sam, too.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been over to Ellis Island?

Mr. NAZARETIAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see your mother?

Mr. NAZARETIAN. I can't see very much.

The CHAIRMAN. You did see her? She might be admitted to pay you a visit. We will proceed, Mr. Weston.

STATEMENT OF MR. G. K. WESTON—Resumed.

Mr. WESTON. That was my main argument, Mr. Chairman, just on behalf of the Legion boys.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been down to see the Secretary of Labor?

Mr. WESTON. I have not; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Take this man down there. Ask for the Assistant Secretary. Who is your next witness?

Mr. WHITE. I will call Doctor Bowden. Is he ready to proceed?

STATEMENT OF REV. HENRY BOWDEN, CONGREGATIONAL HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY, NEW YORK CITY.

Mr. BOWDEN. I come here simply to state our interest in the bill. We have more to do with the Armenians in this country than any other of the Protestant group, probably more than any other group, because one-third or one-fourth of all the Armenians in the country at least are more or less connected with us, and we think we know something of what their feeling is and their position in the matter.

This bill as it appeals to us is not a matter of immigration policy. As one of the members of the committee stated this morning, it is an exception to an established policy; definitely made that. It is definitely limited to the people it touches, and the period for which it is effect. It does not anticipate in its own terms any long-continued course of conduct that could be called a principle. It is put down as a meeting of a particular specific condition which now exists in certain specific and limited territories.

Mr. KLECZKA. Let me ask you right there in that connection— I wanted to ask this of Mr. Vickery—are you associated with the Near East Relief?

Mr. BOWDEN. No; not at all—that is, no official association or connection.

Mr. KLECZKA. Well, the conditions that have arisen here are almost annual or continual affairs, are they not, these persecutions and massacres?

Mr. BOWDEN. No—persecutions and massacres; yes; but no such thing as this; no; absolutely.

Mr. KLECZKA. What I mean is, I thought somebody might offer some sort of a solution, some sort of a permanent aim or base remedy for the removal of the causes. Now, there is the Near East relief—could you offer some basic remedy for these conditions?

Mr. BOWDEN. I think we could, but I did not think that was the subject under discussion.

Mr. KLECZKA. Well, I think the committee would be interested, outside of the immediate relief provided by this bill, to see whether there is any plan, any remedy that might be offered that would remove those conditions or at least remove the cause.

Mr. BOWDEN. Such a remedy was suggested several years ago.

Mr. KLECZKA. What was that?

Mr. BOWDEN. And definitely and distinctly sat down upon.

Mr. KLECZKA. What was the remedy, may I ask?

Mr. BOWDEN. The suggestion that America should take the responsibility for things, in a fashion, in Turkey.

The CHAIRMAN. How was it sat down on?

Mr. RAKER. Let him finish.

Mr. BOWDEN. But that is not the question under discussion.

Mr. RAKER. Yes, it is. Give us your recommendations. We want to know.

Mr. BOWDEN. I do not want to take up the time of the committee discussing matters of that nature.

Mr. RAKER. But we will take up more time if you do not tell us.

Mr. KALAJAIN. I will cover that subject when I address the committee.

Mr. RAKER. Let the gentleman speak for himself. He knows.

Mr. BOWDEN. These present conditions of things have come to pass in Asia because the attitude that was taken at Versailles was never put into effect. Conditions were allowed to run on and run on from bad to worse. Whether anything else could have been done or not is a question, of course, that must be nothing more than a matter of opinion on the part of one person or another. I do not say that one man's opinion is as good as another, because opinions vary in their quality, but it is a matter of opinion.

Mr. KLECZKA. Eliminating the political side, as a practical proposition, here is the Near East relief; according to the figures they collected some \$70,000,000. The chairman has made the statement that the Government of Mexico is willing to take these refugees. Now, it has occurred to me that if it is within the province of the Near East relief, outside of the relief that might be accorded by this bill, that those refugees might be transported to Mexico and perhaps fit in there very well in the national situation.

Mr. BOWDEN. It might be. I can not say anything about that, because I have no authority to speak for the Near East relief, and I have no authority to speak for the Republic of Mexico.

Mr. KLECZKA. I was just wondering if some remedy for the situation might be found.

Mr. RAKER. You have authority to speak for yourself. What is your view?

Mr. BOWDEN. Well, my view on that is simply I haven't sufficient information on the subject to express an opinion of any value at all. I do not know whether these people could be transferred to Mexico. I do not know whether Mexico would take them. It is a mere rumor, in my mind. I never heard of it until I entered this room.

Mr. RAKER. If Mexico would take them, then what do you say about it?

Mr. BOWDEN. If Mexico would take them—well, even then there are other things to be taken into consideration. I could not commit myself to an opinion that would have any intelligence in it. I think it would be a most excellent thing if Mexico were in a position to take them. I do not know whether she is or not. They would fit into some parts of Mexico, I have no doubt. I know what they are doing here in the United States and I know they fit into the United States. This matter, however, is not a bill which is going to relieve the entire Near East situation. It is a bill to meet the conditions of a very small part of those people who have been driven out from their homes, just that section of those people who have been driven out and who have relatives here in this country, and application must be made before June 6, 1924.

Their relatives must be in position to make that application before that time, according to the bill. It is a matter that refers only, as has been said here, to 5,000 or perhaps 20,000 people—nobody can say exactly—but at the most the number is an insignificant number compared with the population of the United States, or compared to the number who are here.

The CHAIRMAN. That has been said about every immigrant that ever came into the United States.

Mr. BOWDEN. Very true.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, would you object to limiting this to 5,000?

Mr. BOWDEN. I should object to limiting it to 5,000, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you object to limiting it to 20,000?

Mr. BOWDEN. I do not think I should; no.

Mr. WHITE. Do you think the limitations which are written in the bill are sensible, practical limitations?

Mr. BOWDEN. I think the limitations that are written in the bill are adequate. I do not see why they should be made any stronger.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the limitations of the bill say anything about those ineligible on account of disease or inability to support themselves?

Mr. BOWDEN. No.

Mr. WHITE. Pardon me, Mr. Chairman, the bill in its administration must conform to the law.

Mr. BOWDEN. Yes; as I understand it, the standard law remains the same. This exempts those from quota arrangements who might otherwise be eligible and who are relatives of people in this country.

Mr. RAKER. What organization did you say you were with?

Mr. BOWDEN. The Congregational Home Missionary Society.

Mr. RAKER. And what is your position?

Mr. BOWDEN. I am specially in charge of the work which we have among foreign-speaking people in the United States.

Mr. RAKER. With headquarters where?

Mr. BOWDEN. In New York City.

Mr. RAKER. Just what is the line of your work? I would just like to get that before I ask you a question or two.

Mr. BOWDEN. To limit it to this Armenian matter, we have in this country about 17 or 18 Armenian congregations. That is more than half of all the Armenian Protestant congregations that are in the United States, and we are in touch with all of the others. These are scattered from Massachusetts to

California. One of the largest ones is in Fresno, another in Parlier, another in Fowler, Fresno County.

Mr. RAKER. Right out of Fresno?

Mr. BOWDEN. Yes; right out of Fresno. All of these are large groups of people and for the most part they are self-supporting churches—self-sustaining groups who are managing their own affairs. I have general touch with all of them. We know something of their friends; we know something of the condition of these things. We have a young woman working for us now on Ellis Island, where we are engaged in work with the kindergarten schools, and one of the teachers whom we have there is an Armenian from Smyrna.

Mr. RAKER. Were the Armenians sent to Fresno and Fowler from the East here?

Mr. BOWDEN. They went from the East; yes.

Mr. RAKER. And kept accumulating and brought with them those that became more prosperous, and of course they began to develop the country there?

Mr. BOWDEN. Yes; the group is an exceedingly prosperous community.

Mr. RAKER. And they brought others with them to Fowler and into the agricultural district outside of Fresno; and you see there, lining the streets and doing the work, the Hindu, the Japanese, the Mexican, and all the others are practically driven out.

Mr. BOWDEN. But the Armenians around Fresno are people who are owning their homes and their vineyards and their orchards. They own a church there worth \$100,000. They paid \$100,000 for it. They are prosperous—a very prosperous community. The same thing is true, not to the same degree but the same character of people, at Fowler. I spent a week with the Armenian congregation at Fowler a year ago last summer, so I know the details of these people and know what they are.

The CHAIRMAN. How do the Armenians get along in New Jersey? What work do they do there?

Mr. BOWDEN. They are engaged in the silk mills at Paterson, N. J., principally. That is the largest colony, I think, in New Jersey.

The CHAIRMAN. What do they do in Connecticut, largely?

Mr. BOWDEN. In Connecticut there is no large number of them. There are a few in New Britain. That is the largest center, I think, in the State of Connecticut.

Mr. RAKER. Why do you colonize them?

Mr. BOWDEN. We do not colonize them. We do not do anything with them. We haven't brought a single Armenian to this country, so far as I know, excepting one girl who has gone to school in Cleveland, but when these people come they naturally associate with their relatives and people from their own country.

Mr. RAKER. You have them at Fresno, at Fowler, and I have been through there a number of times when we were investigating other matters, and what I have seen there years before seemed to be entirely changed. There seemed to be an entirely new population.

Mr. BOWDEN. Very likely.

Mr. RAKER. In other words, we are in a foreign country almost.

Mr. BOWDEN. That may be. Now, that sort of thing is not done by people from the outside; it is the same thing that we would do. For instance, I was in the city of Dresden before the war, and on St. Johns Street in Dresden you would hear as much English as you would German, walking on the streets. There was an English and American colony of 50,000 in that city, and they kept by themselves and they went with themselves. Any people will do that anywhere. You can't help it. You take an Armenian family that comes in here, and their cousins come, and those cousins are not going to settle a hundred miles away; they are going to get as near to their own people as they can. That is all there is to it. That is simply human nature. It is not Armenian nature.

Mr. VAILE. Doctor, what proportion, roughly, of the Armenians in this country are farmers?

Mr. BOWDEN. Well, I do not know. There are perhaps 100,000 Armenians in this country, and those who are in California are very largely farming. That is the largest single group, possibly, of Armenians in any State in the country, the groups in California.

In the East they are not farmers to any considerable extent. In Boston, in Worcester, they are engaged in work in the town, business of one sort or another.

Mr. VAILE. Do you know of any place except this colony here where they are engaged in agricultural occupations?

Mr. BOWDEN. Oh, yes—that is the two sections in which we find them there in California, in Fresno, Parlier, Fowler, and Rildley, all comparatively in the same general neighborhood.

Mr. RAKER. Parlier is another place. I went through there two years ago, just after working time. We slackened up the machine and I talked with the men that were with me. I suppose we saw 500 to 1,000 men, and I doubt whether we saw three American citizens there.

Mr. BOWDEN. Well, you will find that most of these Armenians are American citizens. In the census that was taken of Armenians who were engaged in work in our manufactures just before the war, 58 per cent were American citizens.

Mr. RAKER. What I meant was, we saw the Hindus, the Japanese, Chinese and Mexicans so thick that they were touching each other, and the Americans were exceptional—it was an exception to see one.

Mr. BOWDEN. I am not speaking for the Hindus or the Chinese or Japanese.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar with the refugee situation in the Smyrna district now?

Mr. BOWDEN. Only as I hear from it. I know people who have come from there, and we are in intimate touch with Armenians that come from there.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar with the refugee situation in Constantinople?

Mr. BOWDEN. Yes, in that same way.

The CHAIRMAN. Just in the same way, but different people?

Mr. BOWDEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar with the refugee situation in Bulgaria?

Mr. BOWDEN. No, not directly.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about the refugees stacked up at Marseilles in France?

Mr. BOWDEN. Yes, I know something of Marseilles.

The CHAIRMAN. There is still quite a large number stacked up at Dantzlg, Poland?

Mr. BOWDEN. Well, that may be. I doubt it very much.

The CHAIRMAN. There are several thousand in Habana, Cuba.

Mr. BOWDEN. I know something of Dantzlg, Poland.

The CHAIRMAN. Refugees are in all the places I have named, and many more.

Mr. BOWDEN. Very true.

The CHAIRMAN. To say nothing of Russia itself, southern Russia.

Mr. BOWDEN. Undoubtedly.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think the Congress of the United States would be justified in enacting a law limiting refugees to the particular ones named in this bill by boundaries and dates?

Mr. BOWDEN. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. And overlook the others? Why?

Mr. BOWDEN. I do not see why not, because we are dealing with an entirely different situation.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. If this soldier boy that has just come in here had been born in Greece, and wanted his mother and sister to arrive and the quota was exhausted, wouldn't his case be exactly the same as one of these?

Mr. BOWDEN. His own individual heart case might be, but his own situation would not be. You have got to take the actual situation you have got, not something else, it seems to me.

Mr. VAILE. We have had a situation very similar to this in regard to Poland that has been pressing us for two years. That Polish situation was the result of the Polish massacres, wholesale murders, and the destruction of towns.

Mr. BOWDEN. Yes; but not under the direction of the Government.

Mr. VAILE. To be sure, a Government, such as it was, was still existing, but that was the only thing that differentiates that situation from this, except the added horror of this which is, I concede, a good deal worse.

Mr. BOWDEN. But that is a great thing. It is a great thing. You can't play Hamlet with Hamlet left out, and that is what you are trying to do.

Mr. VAILE. There is this distinction there: That there is a Government still remaining in Smyrna—the Turkish Government.

Mr. BOWDEN. No; not a government for these people—a government of the men who have murdered them, a government that is out definitely and abso-

tutely with its sword in hand to drive these people in'to the sea, and which definitely states at Lausanne that its business is to get these Armenians out, and to get out every Christian in Turkey. That is its business. You have got no such situation in Poland and never had it.

Mr. VAILE. Well, the people who have appeared before us have claimed that they are in a situation very similar to that.

Mr. BOWDEN. They never have claimed any such situation.

Mr. VAILE. They claimed they were driven out by the sword, with their houses burned over their heads.

Mr. BOWDEN. Undoubtedly that was true.

Mr. VAILE. By sanction of the Government of that country.

Mr. BOWDEN. No; by the perhaps passive nonresistance of the Government. That is all. Here you have got the definite action of the Government directed toward this definite end, and you can not put your finger on another case where you have got a similar condition.

Mr. RAKER. Is it your view that America should take up the cudgel and make a fight against that Government?

Mr. BOWDEN. No.

Mr. RAKER. But what distinction do you make, now, between this 5,000 or possibly 15,000 who might come to relatives, and the other million and five hundred thousand that are refugees?

Mr. BOWDEN. What difference do I make?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. BOWDEN. The difference that is made in the bill. That is all. What I am discussing is this particular bill.

Mr. RAKER. You people now are appealing on the grounds of humanity to protect these people, and you pick up 5,000 and you leave 1,500,000 there yet remaining uncared for. Now where do you get the distinction?

Mr. BOWDEN. I have no particular interest in emphasizing the distinction.

Mr. WHITE. I would like to interrupt the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask one question first. As a matter of fact now, would you object to simplifying this whole thing by reinsertion in the immigration law of words which would permit the admission of persons fleeing from religious or political persecution, whether shown by overt act or not? Would you prefer that?

Mr. BOWDEN. I should.

The CHAIRMAN. You would be willing to reopen the United States as an asylum for the oppressed of the world?

Mr. BOWDEN. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Mr. BOWDEN. Certainly I should. But that is not what this bill proposes to do.

The CHAIRMAN. But that might easily turn out to be the essence of the proposition.

Mr. BOWDEN. I think not.

The CHAIRMAN. This bill has undertaken a limitation of that proposition, the United States having experimented now for about 10 months with a restrictive bill, and when there developed refugees in any part of the world it disclosed the fact that the United States by that 3 per cent quota act had ceased to be an asylum. So when you get down to an analysis, instead of trying to specialize for certain refugees, you realize that if such a bill were offered by this committee to the House that the logic of the situation would require the proposition to be open for the refugees of the world.

Mr. BOWDEN. I do not say that. No; I do not think it does.

The CHAIRMAN. How can you get away from it?

Mr. BOWDEN. Simply that this bill does not assume at all, as one of the members of this committee put it this morning—the bill is not a policy of immigration; it is an exception to an established policy, and simply assumes to be that exception to an established policy.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if this is one exception, will it not always be used as a precedent for the very next time there seems to be a desire for an exception?

Mr. BOWDEN. It could be used as a precedent, logically, only when you had the conditions repeated upon which it is established.

The CHAIRMAN. We hope we will not have it repeated, but a refugee is a refugee. That is the point I am trying to make.

Mr. BOWDEN. But a refugee is not a refugee.

The CHAIRMAN. But the question is, Are we going to make the United States an asylum or not an asylum?

Mr. BOWDEN. But that is not the point of the bill. If you are going to make me an example, you have got to recognize my attitude.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I am disclosing my opposition to this phase of it.

Mr. BOWDEN. That is an exception definitely put as an exception. Now, personally, I do not believe in our present immigration policy, but that it not under question, not under discussion at all.

The CHAIRMAN. But the present 3 per cent, which in effect ended migrations and denies that the United States is a refuge for oppressed people beyond a possible 3 per cent based upon a certain year's census—all the restrictive legislation the people have been able to get in 30 years' effort—and now this is proposed to be the first opening of it.

Mr. BOWDEN. This, however, is an exceptional matter, and, so far as I can see, does not at all come under the head of opening of the gates to immigration.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that, but you still say that you would have the United States the asylum for all.

Mr. BOWDEN. That is my own opinion, not stating, however, what this bill provides.

Mr. WHITE. Your contention is that this bill would not furnish a justifiable precedent for the far-drawn deduction of the chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. It is not far drawn at all. It is the logical step, and if we are going to do it, we might as well do it all at once.

Mr. RAKER. Why do you call it an exception?

Mr. BOWDEN. Because it definitely assumes to be one in itself. That is why.

Mr. RAKER. Then why can you make an exception to let in 5,000 people in distress out of a million and a half, and what are you going to do with the million and a half?

Mr. BOWDEN. I do not know what we are going to do with the million and a half, but that is another question. The question so far as the bill is concerned—

Mr. VAILE (Interposing). Won't another bill be presented with all the eloquence and all the tremendous pressure of sympathy—won't that next exception be presented in just the same way that you folks are presenting this one?

Mr. BOWDEN. I do not know whether it will or not.

Mr. VAILE. It has been presented before.

Mr. BOWDEN. In the case of Poland. It had never been presented on the same ground.

Mr. VAILE. Not identically; no.

Mr. BOWDEN. Well, that is an important point. That is exactly the sole point upon which I am resting my argument.

Mr. VAILE. Those cases are identical.

Mr. WHITE. Isn't the gentleman's suggestion equivalent to saying that we should never do good lest evil may come from it in the future?

Mr. BOWDEN. Well, I would not say that.

Mr. RAKER. Humanitarily it would not be right to admit 5,000 and exclude a million and a half in like circumstances, would it?

Mr. BOWDEN. Well, I do not know whether it would or not. It would depend on the circumstances. You haven't got like circumstances. You admit certain people here who are in certain circumstances. That is all that this bill does. It admits those who are in those circumstances. It does not admit those who are not in those circumstances.

Mr. RAKER. I know, but that seems to be the strength of the appeal to the committee.

Mr. BOWDEN. I am perfectly willing to make an appeal on the broader basis if the committee wants it, but what I am making an appeal for now is the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. We are trying to discover who will be up here to the next appeal. We have been up against it quite frequently.

Mr. BOWDEN. I am not proposing any other appeal.

Mr. RAKER. Why make the appeal so strong and so direct for the relative and not for the others in like circumstances, who stand side by side over in Greece?

Mr. BOWDEN. Because it is a stronger appeal for the relative.

Mr. RAKER. Why is it?

Mr. BOWDEN. Simply because they are relatives.

Mr. RAKER. And that alone?

Mr. BOWDEN. That in itself makes a different case.

Mr. RAKER. Is that the sole ground that makes a stronger appeal? I want to get this definitely so I know where I stand. Is that the sole ground, simply because they are relatives?

Mr. BOWDEN. That is the sole ground that the bill is interested in.

Mr. RAKER. Is that your attitude in the admission of these people?

Mr. BOWDEN. I am not appealing for the admission of anybody and everybody who comes here. What I am appealing for is the adoption of this bill which admits a limited group of people who have connections here in the country now and can be cared for here. There are many of these refugees who can be better cared for somewhere else, undoubtedly, and those who can be cared for somewhere else would rather go somewhere else than come here. There are many of these people who would rather go into Mexico if Mexico could be opened, but that is so far a mere cloud in the sky. Mexico is not open yet. It is only a rumor.

Mr. WHITE. I want to ask the witness this question: You have examined this bill?

Mr. BOWDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. You have read it?

Mr. BOWDEN. I have read it thoroughly.

Mr. WHITE. You clearly recognize that the supporters of this emergency, this proposed emergency legislation, are keeping in mind the protection of all the interests of this country; that they are not seeking to go further than we may go safely and conserve all the interests of this country as we appreciate them?

Mr. BOWDEN. That was very clear to me as I read the bill.

Mr. WHITE. Then you do not have much sympathy with this idea that if we can save but 8,000 or 10,000 we should not exert ourselves to save any of those that we may save, and yet conserve all the interests and protect all the interests of this country?

Mr. BOWDEN. No; there are perhaps 5,000, perhaps 6,000—I do not care anything about what the number is—of the people who have their relatives here, whom this bill would aid.

Mr. WHITE. It has got to be administered in compliance and conformity with the administration of the laws of this country.

Mr. BOWDEN. Certainly, as I understand it.

Mr. RAKER. Let me put this concrete question: Here is a gentleman who has no relatives over there at all, but he has means. He has a home. He could provide for three or four men and a family of two or three girls. Here is a man over here who has relatives. You will permit this man who has relatives to bring them in, but you will not permit the other one who has the means to take care of them. Now, why do that?

Mr. BOWDEN. I do not know. I should permit that other one too. I should like to see the bill extended to that extent, but I am not pleading for an extension of the bill; I am pleading for the bill as it stands, with as much freedom as we can get into it, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you concerning one phase of the bill: How far do you suppose the Commissioner General of Immigration would be able to stand up against this section 7: "That if the Commissioner General of Immigration shall find the facts stated in the petition to be true, the refugees named in the petition shall be admitted to the United States, except that in case of an uncle or aunt by blood the commissioner general may, in his discretion, refuse admission if he believes that the refugee can be provided for elsewhere than in the United States." How could he stand up against that?

Mr. BOWDEN. I don't know. I don't imagine that would affect a great many people in any way. That would simply depend on the courage that the commissioner general had.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, we are much obliged to you. Who will be the next witness?

ADDITIONAL STATEMENT OF MR. ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON.

Mr. HUNTINGTON. I sympathize with the attitude of the committee about the danger of establishing precedents, and I want the committee to understand that a good many of those who support this bill agree with them very strongly on that point. I am glad to see the committee take the attitude that we ought to inspect very carefully and ought to restrict immigration, but it seems to me no precedent is going to be established as has been stated. We have already

established a selective precedent. That precedent is based on the fact that because we have a certain proportion from a given country in our country to-day, we will take more from that country. In other words, because the people here are related by blood to certain people over there we say let them in such and such a percentage. In other words, we have established the precedent of letting relationship determine. It is now distant relationship and we are simply carrying that principle a little further. We are saying that instead of because they are English and because there are so many English here, let in so many more English; we are saying that because they are family relations we will let them in. I think that is a precedent.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you given any thought—you seem to have studied this very carefully—have you given any thought as to whether this particular provision will violate the favored-nations clauses of the treaties?

Mr. HUNTINGTON. I was going to speak of that. It might be wise to change this bill so that it is couched in general instead of specific terms.

The CHAIRMAN. You know it would violate the friendly nations clause, do you not?

Mr. HUNTINGTON. I think there would be danger; therefore I would say this bill should be couched in general terms. Nevertheless it would apply in the present emergency primarily to Armenians, because there is where there is a great number of refugees. Now, the chance that we will have anything equal to this again is very slight, and we could limit the number.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, if you are through, call your next witness.

Mr. VAILE, will you take the chair. I have to appear before another committee.

(Mr. Vaile took the chair.)

Mr. WHITE. I will call this young lady here, Miss Shahinian.

STATEMENT OF MISS ELIZA SHAHINIAN.

Miss SHAHINIAN. It is really awful for me to remember my past life and the cruelty of the Turks, but to make you understand this I will say that all those people that have told you of the cruelty of the Turks are not exaggerating the cruelties that have been done by the Turks. I am an eyewitness of this cruelty. There are no words in the international dictionaries to tell these cruelties that the Turks have done upon both nations, upon Christians, whether on the Greeks or the Armenians. I say on the Greeks because I saw their cruelties in Smyrna, too, this year, and on the Armenians from 1915, when they began; and I want you not to deny to do something that will cost you nothing and make 5,000 people very happy, and make them free. Why not do this thing that costs you nothing?

Mr. VAILE. Do you care to say something, Miss Shahinian, about your experiences with the Turks?

Miss SHAHINIAN. Yes; whatever you like to ask me I shall say.

My father was a merchant of Ketel, in Asia Minor, and we were quite rich. I had five uncles, and we were five sisters and brothers, and one of them yet she is lost. We don't know where she is now.

Mr. VAILE. That is one of your sisters?

Miss SHAHINIAN. Yes; because she didn't know the name given her by the Turks, and it seems like we can not find her. We wrote several times to see if, perhaps, somebody knows about her; but nobody knows.

Mr. VAILE. When did she become lost?

Miss SHAHINIAN. In 1915.

Mr. VAILE. How old was she?

Miss SHAHINIAN. Just 5 years old.

Mr. VAILE. She was too young to remember her name or family?

Miss SHAHINIAN. She can not remember it. That is why she got lost.

Mr. VAILE. Was she taken away?

Miss SHAHINIAN. Yes; she was taken away. She was captured by the Turks. In 1915—August 12—we were in our farm. We went from our city to pass our summer time. My father was not there. He was in Constantinople. We wired to him that from the government two people came and told us that we must go out from our home after three days. And we didn't get the answer. Again, three days after, three gendarmes—Turk gendarmes—came and forced us to come out from our homes.

Mr. VAILE. Now, who was there?

MISS SHAHINIAN. My uncle, my granduncle, was with us. He was about 60 years old. We came out with horses and two carriages. We had with us five horses and two carriages. We came out and we asked, "Why are we going away?" They told us, "You must come out from the Turkish territory." We said, "All right." We didn't know what they mean, and they told us, "You must go to Konla." They took us not from the direct way, the shortest way, where the carriage can go, but they led us through the mountain six days. Then one of them, one of the gendarmes, came and asked my older uncle, he said that "Where is your brother?" He said, "Well, I don't know." "No," he said, "you know about him. You must tell where he is." He said, "I don't know where he is. Maybe he is at Constantinople; maybe he is killed. We don't know nothing about him." And they stoned him and they killed him; they killed him there. We lost our uncle also, and we were with my grandmother and my mother and we went to Konla. Well, the gendarmes go into Konla and ask something about my father. We don't know nothing about him, and he demanded money from us. We gave him some pounds of Turkish and he left my grandmother to go, and this time there was an American missionary there—I don't remember his name. He knew us because my father aid them to form a church over there in that country, and my grandmother has asked him, "Do you know about my son anything. If he was at Constantinople or where?" He tell my grandmother, "Yes; he is here. We have kept him." "Oh," she said, "he must come out because we are going along. Perhaps the gendarmes take off my daughter-in-law, my children, and he must come." And this time they have written to my father that, "Your mother wants you to come here," and my father has come then and my grandmother met him and she said, "You must come with me, with your children. If they kill you, never mind, or let them kill you with us," and he was obliged to come with us.

We went from Konla and again started to Byzantium. There was a big mountain and it was impossible to carry carriages or to carry horses. Again the gendarmes came and demanded money from us. We said, "We gave all our money, everything, we got nothing. He said, "All right. If you have got nothing." And we saw more than 50 carriages with Armenians that have come from Harput, from Sivas, from Erzerum, Bursa. There were 40 carriages coming and the others were walking. They began from 8 o'clock in the evening to pick the men from us. They picked them and they said they want them to make soldiers in the Turkish Army. We know that they are going to kill them. They put them away from us down in the valley, and we were with the other gendarmes. He was leading us. At midnight he was leading us upon the mountains and he forced us to leave our carriages and leave our horses and walk on. We left everything and we were walking. We said, "Well, where are our men? How shall we go alone?" He said, "Aren't we men? Aren't we gentlemen with you? Never mind, walk on." But we were hearing the shooting of the guns and the crying of the men, and we were sure about it; they were killing our men.

About two or three months ago we were walking with them bringing us on the mountains. We camp on the mountains three or four days and then march on, walking on. We came to Mount Miskum. It is a mountain also, but there are ruins of big houses there. Then they began to pick the girls. It was midnight, near midnight, because it was dark, and the shouting was coming from the camps. "Oh," said my mother, "something has begun again." But we didn't know what it was, and we heard that they are picking the girls. My mother said, "You must wear the dress of an old lady and put blacking upon your face." I was just 12 years old. "Let them not take you away." It began the crying six days. Six days they gathered the girls. After all they came to our camp, a little bit of a camp. My older brother was with us yet. They came and my brother was out. They said, "Oh, here is a gentleman about 16 or 17 years old. Why didn't we catch him before?" And they catch him and tied his hands and hide his eyes, and I came out crying. I said, "Where are you having my brother?" And they said, "Never mind, we are having him by your father." I knew that they are going to shoot my brother. Then they said, "Oh, there is a young lady also. You come with us." I said, "No; I am with my mother here. I shall have her with me." They said, "All right, you can have her. Never mind, you have your mother also with you." But my mother was unable to walk. I said, "Come, mother, let us go together. I am afraid I can not go with these people," but they are holding their big knives

in their hands and they are forcing us to go with them. I said, "All right, let my mother come with me." We went about 40 or 50 steps, and they said, "Oh, you walk on, you old big lady," to my mother, and she said, "I am unable to walk." They said, "Oh, are you unable to walk? Let us make you walk." And they pushed the knife upon her breast, and she fell down there. I was just screaming and crying.

Mr. KLECZKA. What is the need of her relating all the terrible thing?

Mr. VAILE. We will excuse you if you wish to be excused.

Mr. RAKER. Let her tell her story. These things come. You can not stop them.

Mr. KLECZKA. What did they do with you then? Just make it short.

Miss SHAHINIAN. Then they put me away in a room—I and about 850 girls—and I asked one of them, "Why are you girls here?" "Oh," they said, "we are happy you came now. You would see what happens. Since seven days we are hungry and thirsty." I said, "What is going to happen with us?" And they said that the rich men, the Turks, and the gendarmes are coming to pick the big and beautiful girls from here, and then we don't know what will happen with us. I continued about four days thirsty and hungry. We had nothing to eat. Then after four days they came and took 150 or 200 girls and left the rest of us. We were just little—12 or 13 years old—and the ugly, the lame, and such kind of girls, they took us away to the river side. There was a river, the Euphrates River, and they came—other gendarmes and other Turkish people—and they began to talk. I didn't know the Turkish talk, and one of the other girls said—I asked them what are they talking, because it was a great number of people. She said that a few of them were saying, "Let us shoot them," and the others saying, "Let us put them in the river." After all they tied us together with a rope, on one side six or seven girls and from the other six or seven girls, and they shoot us and pull us into the river and they left them. From the other side of the river came women of the Turks—women and men—and they cut the ropes and caught hold of the ropes and whatever they can get and swim with us and took us away from the other side of the river. I said, "I have another sister. Let me go." They said, "Oh, never mind. Aren't you happy that you get free from the death? See, the others are going in the river." I said, "Never mind, let me die in the river."

They said: "No; we can give you bread and water. You are a Christian. Why don't your Christ come and save you from our hell? See, we are killing you; we are doing everything that we want to do." I said: "Never mind. Don't say such things now."

Then they had me with them, with a lady, and then other men they had horses with them and we were going on. We met a big crowd of robbers, Kurd robber, and they demanded me from them, and they sell me for about 60 cents to this man, this Kurd, and they cast lots for me and fall to a chief of the Kurdish. He took me away to his house. I remained there about four years. I shall remember three things that they do to me. One that when I went there they tried to force me to be a Mussulman. The chief who have taken me away, he was about 60 years old. He said the second day that he has taken me away: "Now, see how we are powerful and we can do everything. Now you come and be a Mussulman and you will be free in Heaven and here also, and we shall look upon you like a Mussulman. You will be free as we are here." I said: "Never mind. I have heard Mohammed was not the prophet as our Christ was." "Oh," he said, "go to hell," and he beat me and I fall on the floor and they came and took me away.

After three days they called me again. They called me and put me on the roof of a little room and they show me fire and crowds doing something. They said: "You are seeing that?" I said: "Yes." I see there are Christian priests there, about six or seven priests they have brought there. And they said: "See how is the Mussulman; he is powerful." And they brought them there and said: "Look how we are doing," and then they pull out the nails of the priests, after they put out the eyes of the priests, and they said: "See; are you seeing? We can do everything to your priests. You can not imagine how powerful is the Mussulman. Do you promise you will be a Mussulman?" I said: "Never mind. Since my parents have died upon the front of Christianity I am perfectly willing to die, but not to be a Mohammedan." And they said to each other, "Let us make picture on her face. Let her be no different. Everybody who sees her do not make a difference

with our ladies." And I said: "No; let me die, but not to do such things upon me." And they have beaten me awfully. So I was sick that time and they have done this to me that time that I was unconscious."

Mr. RAKER. That is, they put those marks on your face when you were unconscious?

Miss SHAHINIAN. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. Did they do it with the other young ladies the same?

Miss SHAHINIAN. Yes; there were six more young ladies there and they have done worse to them than to me; those places on the face, on the lips, all black.

Mr. VAILE. Now, what is the purpose of putting those marks on these girls?

Miss SHAHINIAN. So that there shall be no difference, Christian or Mohammedan. They do not know that I am a Christian or a Mohammedan, because they are Mohammedan and they have the custom, their custom to do this upon the Mohammedan.

Mr. VAILE. All Mohammedan women wear the same marks?

Miss SHAHINIAN. Yes.

Mr. KALAJDZIAN. Each chief has his own mark, put on his wives or concubines.

Mr. VAILE. That is what I was getting at. She has the brand of her particular chief?

Mr. KALAJDZIAN. Yes; that is it.

Mr. RAKER. That will not come off, will it?

Miss SHAHINIAN. I don't know if it will ever come off or not.

Mr. KALAJDZIAN. No; it is in the blood.

Mr. VAILE. Put in with a needle?

Mr. KALAJDZIAN. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. How early do they commence to mark young ladies and Mohammedan girls?

Miss SHAHINIAN. As soon as she is born they may do that thing.

Mr. RAKER. When she is a little baby?

Miss SHAHINIAN. Yes. Then once I heard that they are going to kill me on account that I am not going to be a Mohammedan. I heard that because there was an Armenian bigger than me, and they have talked to her. She hasn't become a Mohammedan but she was afraid to tell that she is not a Mohammedan. Every time they beat her as they used to do me. And she came in and said: "You go away from here as soon as you can, because they are going to shoot you." I said: "Well, where shall I go?" She said: "I don't know. Go to the Armenians. They are free. They are not under force as we are." I said: "All right, if I can, I shall go."

It was night. It was a very dark night. There was a stable and I was not under a chief. Nobody was keeping watch upon me that I do not escape, because they never imagined I can escape from there for the desert. And there was a stable that had a little window there, and I intended to go and escape from this window. I make myself through the window and throw myself down from the window. I didn't know that the shepherd was lying under that window, and as soon as I throw myself down and begin to run, the shepherd get awake and he began to scream. On this scream the chief awoke and he come, because he has got 27 children and 11 wives. I began to run. I turned back and saw that nobody was coming, and I began to run upon the mountain. Afterwards there began screamings. I didn't pay any attention and again I began to run, and I turned back and I saw that five people are coming on horses. I said: "Now I am going to die." They began to shoot, to shoot the guns, and I have that cloak, it is a big cloak, and burn all the sides, and my hair was all burned from the shooting, but not any fire came any harm to my body, but because they were on the horses, as soon as they came down the valley they caught me and they said: "Are you still resisting yet?" And one of them put me on the horse and I throw myself down from the horse and they tied me from here, and I was on the other side tied from the saddle of the horse, and the horse was going about—here, I was and the horse was going from there. They were dragging me by the horse.

Mr. VAILE. Dragging you behind the horse?

Miss SHAHINIAN. Yes. The horse was going from there and I was going from here, dragging upon the stones. When we reached the house my body was just black like this [indicating her black dress], and I was near to die.

There was a chief of their religion said: "Do the remedy as soon as you can to cure her, because she is going to die in her religion. She didn't get Mohammedan and she is going to die in her religion, and we are sinful then because we couldn't make her Mohammedan." And then they put some medicine upon my body, and six months I was sick in that way, six months. Then, when I got cured, it was about six months, and that time just was four years I have been by there by the Turks, by the Kurds.

Mr. VAILE. How did you finally get away?

Miss SHAHINIAN. When the peace come over, my brother heard that I am there, and the English Army was saving the Armenians held by the Turks, and my brother, they have caught him and tied his hands; was captured by an Arablan to be a servant; to be his servant; and when the English Army has come to Damascus, my brother was saved by this English Army.

Mr. VAILE. And your brother got the English to look you up?

Miss SHAHINIAN. Yes.

Mr. VAILE. Where is your brother now?

Miss SHAHINIAN. He was at Constantinople, but I don't know where he is now.

Mr. VAILE. The English didn't take any of you folks with them, did they?

Miss SHAHINIAN. The English brought us to Aleppo and give us—leave us in the Red Cross orphanage.

Mr. VAILE. Did you have relatives here?

Miss SHAHINIAN. Yes; I have an uncle here and I came to my uncle. I thought I was going again to be captured by the Turks. This is the third time—the third massacre I have been; first, in 1915; second, in 1922; and I came to Smyrna thinking that Smyrna is the safest place, but it wasn't, and the Turks came and they slaughtered again.

Mr. VAILE. You were in Smyrna?

Miss SHAHINIAN. Yes; I was at Smyrna and I escaped from Smyrna.

Mr. VAILE. When did you first come to the United States?

Miss SHAHINIAN. This year, on November 1, I land on Ellis Island, and I was on Ellis Island about three weeks.

Mr. RAKER. Were you in Smyrna during the fire?

Miss SHAHINIAN. For 24 hours, during the massacre I was there.

Mr. RAKER. Were you there on the 9th of September and from that on?

Miss SHAHINIAN. September 11 I came out from Smyrna.

Mr. RAKER. You came out on September 11? The fire was on the 13th. And where did you go from Smyrna? You left on the 11th, and where did you go?

Miss SHAHINIAN. I came to Saloniki. I came upon little ship, a Greek ship, the *Patris*. They brought us with wounded soldiers to Saloniki.

Mr. VAILE. With whom were you staying at Smyrna?

Miss SHAHINIAN. I was in the American college.

Mr. RAKER. And from Saloniki, you came where?

Miss SHAHINIAN. To Athens. And from Athens I came here. Now I am free and saved in life, but my relatives, my nation, my sisters are still suffering by the Turks, and I am sorry that you deny to help them, to open the quota, to come therein.

Mr. RAKER. Have you any relatives back in that country that you know of, except your brother, that you think is in Constantinople?

Miss SHAHINIAN. No; I have got only an aunt.

Mr. RAKER. And where is she?

Miss SHAHINIAN. I don't know where she is. She is by the Turks. She was left when the Greek Army came back to Smyrna.

Mr. RAKER. How old did you say you are now?

Miss SHAHINIAN. At that time I was 12 years old.

Mr. RAKER. In 1915?

Miss SHAHINIAN. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. And where did you say your uncle lived?

Miss SHAHINIAN. My uncle is at New York now.

Mr. VAILE. How old were you when the Turks got you?

Miss SHAHINIAN. Just 12 years old.

Mr. RAKER. Will you give you uncle's name?

Miss SHAHINIAN. His name is Vahanna Shavakeon.

Mr. RAKER. What is his address?

Miss SHAHINIAN. Forty-four Lexington Avenue.

Mr. RAKER. Were there any number of young women left Smyrna on the 11th of September, 1922, at the same time you did?

Miss SHAHINIAN. With me?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Miss SHAHINIAN. We were about 35 young girls when we left there.

Mr. RAKER. How did you happen to leave at that time, before any trouble really ensued?

Miss SHAHINIAN. The massacre was begun when we were at the American college at the time, and Miss Mills, directress of the American College of Smyrna, was there and we told to her what we are going to do, and she said that it is going on like this massacre a few days, and she said: "I am sure that nothing is going to happen, because so many warships of English, Italian, and French are here, and I am sure nothing will go happen." I said: "Oh, I can never believe the Turks, because I have seen their cruelty, and I can not remain here." And I said to the girls that were with me at the college, and at midnight the American sailors were there and we asked the American sailors to bring us to the Italian school, to the seashore, and they brought us to the Italian school and there we had a nurse, an Italian nurse. We asked her to aid us, to bring us to the seashore by the ships, and she brought us. With those girls are Greek girls, Greek girls that came with me. We said: "Let us aid the wounded soldiers and you let us to go on the *Patris* that is going from here," and they said, "No; it is impossible, because only the wounded soldiers are going on the *Patris*." But we asked and we begged that we are going to be nurses upon this ship, and we promised to them that we shall do our best for the wounded soldier if you will leave us to go on, and they left us to go on the *Patris*. We were 11 hours on the *Venetia*, the warship Italian, 11 hours, and after we got on the *Patris* we came to Saloniki.

Mr. RAKER. How many young ladies were attending the American college there at the time you left?

Miss SHAHINIAN. Oh, lots of people. Not the girls only but lots of people—thousands.

Mr. WHITE. That had taken refuge there?

Miss SHAHINIAN. Yes; they took refuge there from the massacre, lots of people.

Then I met my missionary teacher at Piræus. She said to me: "You prophesied this time. You said that you never believed the Turks because you have seen them, but I could never imagine that the Turks can be so cruel. I saw now with my eyes, and you were right when you told me you can not believe them, because they are so cruel. I saw it that they are more cruel than you can ever tell."

Mr. RAKER. Do you speak the Turkish dialect or language?

Miss SHAHINIAN. Yes; I speak Turkish, Arabic, Greek, and just a little bit Kurdish.

Mr. RAKER. How many came over with you from Athens?

Miss SHAHINIAN. Nobody only I came. Nobody came with me.

Mr. RAKER. You just came alone?

Miss SHAHINIAN. Yes; I am sorry to say that I came alone.

Mr. VALE. Are there any other questions?

Mr. WHITE. None, whatever.

We have another witness, Mr. Kalaidjian.

STATEMENT OF REV. M. T. KALAJDJIAN, SECRETARY Y. M. C. A., ARMENIAN DEPARTMENT, NEW YORK CITY.

Mr. KALAJDJIAN. I am an Armenian clergyman, now serving as the secretary of the Y. M. C. A. for the Armenian department in New York City, and also connected with the congregational board of pastors at large for the Armenians. I wish to take just a few minutes to make a general statement about the Armenians.

I wish the members of the committee will just forget about the Near East, because that is a generic term, and just think of Turkey before the war, which consisted of all that country south of the Black Sea and north of the Mediterranean extending east as far as this Russian border, down to Mesopotamia, Syria, then on the Bosphorus taking in Constantinople and that territory which is yellow on the map [indicating]. That was the Turkish Empire.

The CHAIRMAN. That is west of Constantinople?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Yes, sir; taking Thrace, going from Constantinople as far as Thrace, was Turkish Empire in 1914.

Mr. RAKER. How far south did that extend?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. That extended as far as Syria, down to Palestine as far as the Suez Canal.

Mr. RAKER. Down to the Suez Canal?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Yes; it took in all Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia. Now, with that area of Turkey before the war there were in round numbers 2,000,000 Armenians. Of these 2,000,000 Armenian people, 1,000,000 lived in this territory [indicating], in the six Turkish-Armenian Provinces, Asmur, Roth, Bitlis, Sivas, Harput, while the other million were divided, scattered all over the Turkish Empire.

Mr. RAKER. Now, when the division came, England took part of them?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. No; in the division in 1878 Russia took part of Armenia, part of Russian Armenia. England has no part of Armenia. England took Mesopotamia and Palestine; mandates over those territories.

Mr. RAKER. I say, England got part of the Armenians.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. The part of Turkish territory which did not have Armenians. There were very few Armenians in Mesopotamia or Palestine before the war.

The CHAIRMAN. Now then, when the quota was made up, the quota law, how was that country divided?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. The quota was made the first year because this was Turkey, this as it is shown here with this blue color was Turkey [indicating], which had only a little, 615 quota for the annual quota. Armenia, which is here [indicating] as you see, was created by the treaty of Versailles, and the boundaries on the Turkish side were determined by President Wilson, and was given some 1,500—over 1,500—quota. This year they changed it, because we presented an argument to the department that while the Armenia that was created by the treaty had 1,500 or so quota, as a matter of fact, of the Armenians who were in the United States in 1910, 75 per cent of them were born outside of that territory, and were born in territory that was Turkish still, and the people that were coming mostly were from that territory, so its quota of Armenians, Russian-Armenians, did not help the refugees who came from the Turkish part of Armenia. The department, therefore, has changed the quotas this year, and made things much easier by making all the former Turkey as one quota of 2,388, and by giving Armenia (Russian-Armenia, which is only a small part even of the Russian-Armenia) about 230 a year. Now, so far, all these months, up to December, every month we had no trouble with quota problems until now, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. Now let me ask you, if a resolution could be made that would combine all of that territory into one designation for quota purposes, calling it "Near East," would it aid in the situation of the Armenian people?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, that will include Armenia, but "Near East," as I said, is a generic term. You can include in the Near East, Persia and part of Egypt; you can include western Armenia or Georgia, but, as a matter of fact, this bill relates to and the country that we are interested in is the Turkish Empire, the former Turkish Empire, or Turkey, that is now being reestablished.

The CHAIRMAN. In your opinion, would it be possible to make a combination of the countries in the Near East, so that the grand quota of all the countries contemplated would be enough larger to considerably relieve the situation in regard to refugees of the kind that we are now considering? Is that possible?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Yes; but it will not give any more quota. If it is based on the 3 per cent quota, unless you combine Russia with Turkey, it will not increase the number that you can admit. The quota of Greece is exhausted; the quota of Syria is exhausted; the quota of Mesopotamia and Assyria is exhausted as Other Asia, so that by combining them together you can not increase your quota.

Mr. RAKER. The Turks have come here and exhausted their quota?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. I say this, that while the quota—now, this quota law may be all right, but there are certain things that are working hardships, and one of them is this, that in 1910 there were 50,000 Armenians here, for example, let us say, and you give us 2,388 quota, but on this quota there is nothing to prevent the Turk from coming, because he was born there; and they have come.

The CHAIRMAN. Not in any number.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, some. Every Turk that comes is pushed in with the Armenians, Greeks, and Assyrians.

Mr. VALE. There is another reason, Doctor, why the Turk can not come. He is excluded under the general provisions of the law keeping out those who believe in or practice polygamy.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. But I have known of Turks that have been admitted into the United States.

Mr. RAKER. Certainly they have.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. And they say, "Why, the religion teaches that, but I don't believe that myself," and they get in.

Mr. RAKER. We have admitted during all this time, right along, haven't we, something like 2,000?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. I have here the statistics in 1908—2,327 admitted.

Mr. RAKER. That is what I said.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. In 1909, 820; in 1910, 1,288; and so on. So, between 1908 and 1910, 12,377 Turks have been admitted. In spite of the fact that we have a law that a polygamist can not come. I do not know how it is, but they admitted them. And I may say that a good many have gone back since.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, wait a minute. Those figures, did you bring them up to 1910, including the Turks and Armenians?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. No; this is probably the first report that gives figures for the Turks separately. I have a report here for the Armenians.

Mr. WHITE. Do you have them differentiated?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. I have a report of the Armenians and a report of the Syrians, as I take them.

Mr. RAKER. Separate and distinct?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. The Turks separated, the Armenians separated, and the Syrians separated?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Yes, sir. I have the figures right here.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the largest number brought in in any one year—Turks that came to the United States in any one year—is in 1914; 2,697?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, going out were 800, leaving net, 1,800; deported, 8—

Mr. RAKER. Under this bill that we are considering now, a Turk can come to this country.

Mr. WHITE. I didn't know, Mr. Chairman, that they classified them with reference to race and nationality both.

The CHAIRMAN. We are trying to do it now. I think these figures are wrong.

Mr. RAKER. We got them from the Department of Labor. Those are the Department of Labor figures.

The CHAIRMAN. I know; but they only commenced race classification recently. I suppose he is right. The number of Turks in 12 years' time is 2,204.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Mr. Chairman, since 1914 we have the race class figures, and I have figures that I can supply you with if necessary.

Mr. RAKER. What territory was it figured on that the United States should have the mandate over?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. The United States mandate, the first proposition was that the United States should take a mandate, according to the report of General Harbord, over all this country [indicating on map], including old Turkey, Russian Armenia, Georgia, and the country from the Caspian Sea and the Mediterranean; and the idea was that we would have all of Baku and we would have Constantinople, Smyrna, all that rich territory which would have been economically a self-supporting country and a country which would have been worth while for America to tackle. That was the idea of the mission that went there, but afterwards, in 1920, after the treaty of Sèvres was signed—

Mr. RAKER (Interposing). That was the territory that we were to take the mandate over; the United States was to take the mandate over?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. That was the original proposition.

Mr. RAKER. About how many people were involved in that country?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, in that country, if we had taken a mandate like that, we would have had about fifteen to twenty million people—Turks, Georgians, Armenians, Tartars, and Greeks, all included.

Mr. RAKER. Now, this was not done; this mandate was not taken?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. No. Then, in 1920, when finally the treaty of Sèvres was signed, this small Armenia was created; and then again, as you will remember, our President asked Congress to authorize to assume the mandate over that small Armenia.

Mr. RAKER. Now, we did not have anything to do with the treaty of Sèvres, did we? We didn't sign it, because we had not declared war against Turkey.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. But we had this much to do, that the powers—Turkey and Armenia also—signed it and they all agreed definitely that the arbitration of the President of the United States would be final and acceptable to all signatories; and so our President was asked, and he drew the boundaries, but, of course, Constantinople, the Government of the Sultan, accepted and signed the treaty; and then Mustapha Kemal Pasha came out and rejected and opposed it, and to-day, as you know, thanks to the help that has been given to Mustapha Kemal Pasha through our allies of France and Italy, they have torn to pieces the treaty of Sèvres and have established the precedent that treaties can be torn. Of course, we don't know where it is going to lead.

Mr. RAKER. You say they violated the treaty?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. The treaty of Sèvres has been torn to pieces.

Mr. VAILE. They made a scrap of paper of it?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Yes; they made a scrap of paper of it. That was one of the issues that we fought the war for.

Mr. RAKER. Who signed the treaty of Sèvres?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. England, France, Italy, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece, Armenia, and Turkey.

Mr. VAILE. In other words, the signatories to the League of Nations?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. But now I want to tell you about the Armenian refugees, how many and where they are. Before the war we had 2,000,000 of Armenians. Of this 2,000,000 when the war broke out, about 300,000 crossed over from this territory to Russia, and to-day we have about 250,000 Armenian refugees who are in Russian Armenia, and they are safe and they are not asking to come here. They are there.

Mr. RAKER. Are they satisfied with the Russian Government?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, that is the only government that has given them peace so far.

Mr. RAKER. They are satisfied with it?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. They are satisfied that they are safe.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the province that they are in?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. They are in the Province of Erivan and around Mount Erivan, around here [indicating]. There are about a million, a little over a million Armenians, and perhaps about a quarter of a million other races there.

Mr. RAKER. I don't want to interrupt you, but I was just wondering if they are now satisfied, as near as they can be, with the government and the conditions there.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, you remember that in 1920, when the League of Nations was in session, the Turks, realizing that there were still enough Armenians and that they were going to have an Armenia, they went over the border of Russia and started a massacre over there. The Armenians did not solicit any help from the Allies and the League of Nations that was in session at the time, but the Russian Soviet Army had a little heart and they sent troops and told Mustapha Kemal Pasha's representatives to get out and they got out, and since then some Russian troops under an Armenian general have kept peace, and poor Russia, starving herself, has sent food and clothes, and even given gold to stabilize the money conditions there. So they have gotten and are getting a good deal of help from Russia there, and they had to be satisfied under the present conditions, because there is no choice. If our allies, our former allies, will not help, of course they have to take whatever help they can get from Soviet Russia, because that is the hand that feeds them now.

Mr. WHITE. They feel that their lives are safe?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Yes; that is it.

Mr. RAKER. That is not very much consideration if every other thing you stand for on earth is gone. The mere fact that you have your life doesn't amount to much if everything you stand for on earth is gone.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, lives can build houses, but houses can not build lives. That is one point I want to emphasize, that in a democracy human interest is more supreme than property interest. Now, if I am an American citizen, the State Department, my Government, says it will protect my property rights, but if I have a mother or sister the Government says, "We can do nothing." How is this?

Mr. RAKER. You do not mean to say that, do you?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. That is all this bill provides.

Mr. RAKER. You are an American citizen, and you do not mean to tell this committee that the United States has ever promulgated or consented to such a doctrine?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Actions speak louder than any promulgation.

Mr. RAKER. But I want to bind you down clearly on that now. You have never seen an intimation nor a suggestion from the Secretary of State, any Secretary of State, ever promulgating that doctrine, but it has always been the other way, strongly inclined and in favor of protecting the rights and the lives of American citizens wherever located. Isn't that right?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Not with the Turks. There are a good many American citizens who lost their lives, and the Government did nothing.

Mr. WHITE. I want to ask you this question if you will allow me. A great deal of encouragement is now being given to the Christian residents, foreign residents, and maybe Christian residents, of Constantinople, to believe that they are safe, that they are to stay there. That is Lord Curzon's observation, and we do not know all that Mr. Child has said. He may not be correctly quoted in the public prints. There must be some feeling in the minds of the ministry of these great powers that the Turk is going to observe some honor in keeping—that the Turk has given assurances that may be depended upon, the Kemalist government.

Mr. HUNTINGTON. Twenty different times in the past they have given assurances and they have never been kept.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. I may say that by the treaty of 1878 the powers agreed to supervise the reforms which the Turkish Government promised to carry on, and England separately, through the convention of Cyprus, took unto herself to give security of life and property to Christians; and if those six powers did not protect the massacres in 1896 and 1909 and 1914 and now, and not even now, that they have in the armistice between the Allies and the Turks, that in case of disturbances they shall have the right to reoccupy the Armenian part of the Turkish territory, yet massacres take place before their eyes and they never lift their hand to say a word. Do you wonder that we can not believe, that we can not take the word of the Turk, not even the word of our Christian Allies?

The CHAIRMAN. That is a pretty good argument against disarmament. Is it not?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Yet, I believe that we ought to have disarmament.

Mr. VAILE. Disarmament for the Turks first?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Disarmament for the Turks first, that is right.

Thank you for the suggestion. [Applause.]

Now let me give you the figures for the Armenian refugees.

Mr. RAKER. What others would you disarm besides the Turks?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, I think what is good for one nation is good for all nations. We ought to disarm, all of us, and if they all disarm, they certainly can't fight.

Mr. VAILE. We had a young lady on the witness stand a minute ago who told one of the most pathetic stories that we have listened to, and one of her uncles was stoned to death before her eyes. They didn't require a weapon to do that. They had war before they had guns.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. We ought to have policemen of the world. In Washington here we have no army but we have policemen to make peace, so we ought to have policemen over there.

Mr. RAKER. They generally carry a bludgeon and a six-shooter and are ready to do business, as they ought to be.

Now let me ask you this question: Do you think the American Government has failed to give the American citizen protection under the Greek Government or the Turkish Government? Is that your view?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. It is a fact that the American flag was fired at in the city of Van. It is a fact that the Christian missionary in Erfu was killed; it is a fact that other Armenians, naturalized American citizens and American-born citizens were killed and we took no action because we were afraid that it might lead to war and we did not want to declare war. That is a fact that the State Department will support me in my statement.

Doctor LOVEJOY. May I say a word right there? I wish to say just one word in support of what has been said, if I may. If I understood you cor-

rectly—now of course I do not know anything about law—but if I understood you correctly, service in the United States Government constitutes citizenship?

THE CHAIRMAN. No.

Doctor LOVEJOY. Then I misunderstood that.

THE CHAIRMAN. It constitutes a preferred step in obtaining citizenship.

Doctor LOVEJOY. I was going to say this, that while I was in Smyrna, the last day I was in Smyrna, for the week that I was there, I had noticed a young man who spoke good English, standing in front of our relief house. The relief house was next door to the American consulate and he was used as an interpreter between the Americans who were helping these people—that is, the soldiers, I mean, and the sailors and the relief workers, and he was a good interpreter and I didn't know who he was; I knew he helped me and I asked him about it, and the last day he was there he came in and said to me: "I have served 13 months in the American Army; I was in the United States and I served in the army 13 months, and now the Turks are going to take me." I tried to see the consul and tried to get some sort of protection for him but I could not get it.

Mr. RAKER. Now do you know, taking that fact to be true, he and he alone is to blame, because during the war in every cantonment and in every place where there were 20 men, there was an agent sent to these men to have them naturalized, and we passed a law so that he could be naturalized without any trouble on earth.

Doctor LOVEJOY. Perhaps he did not know about it.

Mr. RAKER. The trouble of it is they all knew it when they wanted to know.

Doctor LOVEJOY. I know at any rate that is what happened. I went with him to see the American consul, and the consul said he could not protect him. That was the 29th of September, and when I went away he was still standing there and he was probably taken by the Turks. I simply wanted to state that.

THE CHAIRMAN. Did you get his name?

Doctor LOVEJOY. No; but I will tell you who could tell you more about him than I. I called on Mr. Morris, who was the publicity man for the Near East Relief, to examine his papers, because he took papers from his pocket to show that he was a soldier.

THE CHAIRMAN. Let his name be reported to the State Department, and let him remember this, that the trouble we have had in the United States is that aliens get their first papers and assume they have got citizenship. Now this man served in the Army and assumed that he was a citizen, but he had certain steps to perform, very simple ones, in order to make him a citizen.

Mr. RAKER. Before you leave that I want to ask you this question: During your experience over there, didn't you find that the American citizen was protected and his rights looked after by his Government?

Doctor LOVEJOY. What is the status of the child born in the United States?

THE CHAIRMAN. He is an American citizen.

Doctor LOVEJOY. Then I will say that their rights were not looked after, because some of the children who were there with those Greeks had been born in the United States, and they were not protected.

THE CHAIRMAN. Most of those countries, in spite of the fact that we give citizenship to those born here, of other nations, reserve the dual nationality for the parents. I think Greece and nearly all the other countries deny, when they want to deny it, that the national of their country may expatriate himself as he pleases, so they always regard him as their citizen, and we have no way, we have no registration, and the aliens just jump up on their hind legs and yell against the registration in the United States, and we have no way of finding those children or knowing they were born in the United States, all because of the conduct of the alien countries and their nationals in this country who do not become citizens.

Doctor LOVEJOY. I am not placing any blame; I am merely reciting an incident.

THE CHAIRMAN. You have just touched on the one thing that makes the immigration problem so hard.

Doctor LOVEJOY. I knew of one family where several children were born in Rochester, N. Y., that were in that group.

Mr. RAKER. It would be quite difficult, under circumstances like you have described, to determine whether the child was born in America or not, even if the parents consented to registration.

Doctor LOVEJOY. Yes, sir; and it was quite impossible to say, on account of that great stress.

Mr. RAKER. But this gentleman rather started to make some damaging reflections on our country and I was a little afraid that he was going rather far afield.

Now let me ask you this question: Isn't this the situation, taking the statement that was given this morning by our Consul General Horton, with other facts that we know, that it is a sort of neglect by the various governments, particularly the four named, that has brought about this difficulty in Smyrna?

Doctor LOVEJOY. I should hate to go into that subject, you know. I can state very briefly what I think created the situation. It was created inevitably by the actions and reactions of the Christian nations of the world. The munitions were supplied to those people by the Christian nations, and then the Christians held up their hands after all the soldiers were gone and allowed the Turks to seek vengeance on innocent people.

Mr. RAKER. They walked off and left them there, is that right?

Doctor LOVEJOY. They did not do anything.

The CHAIRMAN. Just name the Christian nations of the world, please. You charge that against the Christian nations of the world and you want to let it stand that way, do you?

Doctor LOVEJOY. I would qualify it in this way: The outstanding, strong Christian nations of the world—

Mr. RAKER. Just one other question. This is not a new thing. This has been going on now for centuries, has it not?

Doctor LOVEJOY. No; this went on—

Mr. RAKER (interposing). No. Not this particular massacre, but the same kind and character, maybe not so large, but the trouble between the Christians and the Turks has been going on as far as we can read back almost?

Doctor LOVEJOY. Oh, you are putting the question so that you are making it hard for me to answer—but I want to say this: You know it is impossible to answer your question exactly, because you are a lawyer and you are putting forth questions that bring forth a certain answer, but I will say this, that so far as the main thing was concerned, the destruction of Smyrna and the suffering that resulted from that destruction of Christian people is the greatest and most terrible thing in all the history of Christian martyrdom. There is nothing like it and no comparison can be drawn with any other thing that has ever happened.

Mr. RAKER. Now, that will be read in the record here, and I want you to bear in mind what has occurred in years gone by in relation to this same thing, when almost three times as many people were deported and massacred as were massacred in this instance.

Doctor LOVEJOY. I am speaking of one city, one happening. I am not speaking of long years of time; I am speaking of one happening.

Mr. WHITE. I would like to ask this question, Doctor: Is it not proper to indicate that the United States ships and the Greek ships had done all they could to relieve the situation by transporting those victims of the fire?

Doctor LOVEJOY. While the fire was on, the ships of the United States and other ships took away some of the people, but afterwards as soon as the fire was over, they all got orders not to take any more, and so they were not taking any more, and they just stayed there.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the United States ships get orders not to take any more?

Doctor LOVEJOY. I don't know whether they had orders, but they quit.

The CHAIRMAN. To your own knowledge?

Doctor LOVEJOY. To my own knowledge. They were not taking them, and they were sending back any refugee who swam out to the ships, after a certain time.

The CHAIRMAN. Now wait a minute. If we adopt this bill and make a law of it, will we not be in the same position, on a little broader scale, that if one comes who is one day behind or one day ahead of the restrictions in this bill, that we will have to send him back?

Doctor LOVEJOY. Well, I am not speaking of the effect upon the bill; I am merely reciting things that happened at Smyrna.

STATEMENT OF MR. THEODORE BORTOLI.

Mr. BORTOLI. It is a fact that at the very beginning the American ships—the American warships—were taking only American citizens, but five days after instructions were received by Admiral Bristol from the State Department to make arrangements to evacuate all the Christians, and the Americans had then taken 17 Greek ships under their control, under their protection—Greek ships with that flag—but they took those people from Pelican Spit 2

miles out of Smyrna and carried them for 12 days' journey to Mitylene, and they carried out all the Christians from Smyrna—9,000 men.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a correction of the statement just made.

Mr. BORTOLI. That is what I wanted to say.

Mr. WHITE. How many ships did you say?

Mr. BORTOLI. Seventeen Greek ships were taken under the control of the Americans—Admiral Bristol. Three destroyers were meeting the 17 Greek ships every morning at Pelican Spit, outside of Smyrna.

The CHAIRMAN. Any statement as to what the United States did or did not do should be made to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and not to this committee.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. If you will allow me, I will just finish my statement and say that out of these 2,000,000 people that were there before the war, there are now 780,000 alive, of which 250,000 are in Russian-Armenia safe. We are not asking any favors for them. About 100,000 have taken refuge down in Syria. They are safe there. That is under French mandate. And there are about 150,000 in Constantinople who are Armenians. I am just speaking of the 150,000 Armenians, of which perhaps 40,000 already have left the city of Constantinople, from my report of yesterday from an Armenian lawyer who has just arrived.

Then we are told by the national delegation, and very briefly, that in this former Turkish territory there are now 130,000 Armenians who have been told by the Turks to get out, and they are coming to the seashore to the number of 130,000 refugees coming out of the country.

The CHAIRMAN. Are any other people being pushed out of the country by the Turks?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. I can tell you only about the Armenians.

The CHAIRMAN. How does it come you are only interested in the Armenians?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Because I am of Armenian descent and naturally I want to tell only what I know. There are Greeks also being driven out, but I can not tell how many Greeks are being driven from there, but I am only furnishing you information in regard to the Armenian situation. One hundred and thirty thousand Armenians are being driven now from Anatolia, Turkey—Turkey in Asia—and 18,000 have taken refuge in Bulgaria.

Mr. WHITE. Are they safe?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Yes; in Bulgaria, they are safe. Of course, they are not housed. Only 8,000 have found houses, residences; the other 10,000 are scattered all over, and depend for relief upon others.

So that altogether 738,000 Armenians there are in Turkey, Constantinople, Syria and Caucasus, all included. Of these only those who are in Greek territory, about 100,000 are estimated.

Now, I wish to say, gentlemen, that the Armenian delegation to-day is in Lausanne, and they are against any mass immigration of Armenians to this country. They do not want these 780,000 Armenians to be brought here, even though the United States was ready to send the ships and load them and bring them over, for the simple reason, as one other Member of Congress was asking us, if there are not so many others who would come in under this measure, but the Armenian national delegation is asking the powers if they can not establish this Armenia that was given to the Armenians by the treaty of Sevres, at least to have part of that, add a part of that territory to the Russian Armenia, so that all the refugees could go and settle there and start to build up their own homes, or they can be given some territory here in this part, in Cilicia [indicating], right here. This Greek territory was given by the treaty of Sevres to France, but France, as you know, made a separate agreement with Turkey and turned over that territory to the Turks. Now the national delegation is asking the powers to create a national home under the mandate of some small nation in Europe, so that these 700,000 refugees can be taken over there and rehabilitated.

Mr. RAKER. Suppose they should provide a territory for them like that; who is going to protect them after they are there?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. The League of Nations should undertake their protection, the Turks agreeing, of course, to their plan. So far, Ismet Pasha, the spokesman of the Turks, has said they have not one inch of territory to give to the Armenians, and they will be glad if the powers will take every Armenian and give them some of their territory; if they love the Armenians, give them some territory somewhere else.

Mr. WHITE. I think I noticed a report that these people were going to be permitted to go back to their homes.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. They are not permitted. That is why I wanted to ask you a question a few minutes ago. They would love to go back and build a national home, but the Turks do not want one Armenian there; in fact, not one Christian. They want Turkey for the Turks, and the Turks alone. That is the policy and that is why it is not possible for these Christian refugees to go back to Smyrna or any part of Asia Minor, to their former homes, because to go back means death. They are being driven out, those who are already there.

Now, gentlemen, I am sorry to say that in that Turkish territory where I was born, right within Cappadocia, my father was killed, my brother died in the army, and my mother only passed away three months ago, so that I could not get her out. I am an American citizen. I asked the State Department if they could do anything; and they said they could not do anything. And my brother's widow, with her two young daughters, were there until three of four months ago. Now, I suppose they are among those refugees that are walking down toward the seashore in this snow and winter in that country, and I don't know that they will survive. That is my situation.

Now, so far as the Armenians are concerned, the Armenian leaders and national authorities, they do not want their people to be brought over here en masse.

Mr. RAKER. Isn't it distinctly understood that so far as this conference has gone in Switzerland, not only by England and France and Italy, but by the United States as the onlooker, the observer, that there will be no large deportation of nationals from any country; that they would none of them stand for it; and that they were arranging so that they would give these people an opportunity to go back to their homes?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Why, the Turks are making promises to give to minorities the same protection as is given to other minorities in other countries; at the same time the Christian minorities are being driven out of the country, so that I take performance better than promises, which are facts.

Now, as to how many Armenians will come if this law passes, I wish to say that very few will come from the Caucasus, very few from Syria, and whether there will be very many coming from Constantinople depends upon what arrangements are made in Lausanne.

The CHAIRMAN. Now are you speaking of Armenians entirely?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are any Syrians coming from Syria?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. No; the Syrians have protection there. France has a mandate over there. They do not have to run for their lives.

The CHAIRMAN. Are any of them desiring to come at this time?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, of course, just as people come from Spain or Greece—I mean Italy—or any other country, I suppose the Syrians will come and go, but they are not in the emergency bill. The emergency bill is formed for the Armenians and Greeks, possibly, who have been driven from their homes, and now they are in Greek territory.

My estimate is that, knowing that we only have 100,000 in this country, at the most they would not have more relatives than between ten and fifteen thousand, distant or close relatives.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I want to get this thing clearly. Do you say that this bill applies entirely to Armenians?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. No; I mean that I am only taking them.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute—you are estimating the number of Armenians?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. The number it will bring; yes.

Mr. WHITE. What do you base that on?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. I base it on the number of Armenians who are in this country and who have relatives.

Mr. WHITE. Just let me interrupt. You understand that this bill applies only to the refugees?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. Driven out of Smyrna and driven out in these recent massacres, who have relatives here that can give assurance that they will not become a public charge; then they will have to meet all the other conditions of the law.

Mr. WHITE. Now, there might be a very small—and it is generally conceded in the judgment of the majority of the witnesses who have been before this committee—there is a very small number of relatives of these particular refu-

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Yes.

gees who are in these dire conditions, living here who might avail themselves of the provisions of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. That is just what we are going to get at. Your estimate is there are 100,000 Armenians, either naturalized or with first papers—

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Yes; or domiciled, permanently domiciled, here.

The CHAIRMAN. Without any papers?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Your estimate of the number of Armenians that might possibly at the outside come to these relatives is about what?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, not over 15,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Armenians?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Yes, the number of Armenians.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, will you give me the names of any other refugees, any other nationalities?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Greeks.

The CHAIRMAN. About how many?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Now, I wish to make a distinction. There are Greeks who are Greek subjects. This bill will not bring them. This is only for Greeks who formerly were Turkish subjects.

Mr. RAKER. No; it does not say that.

Mr. WHITE. No; it says residents in Turkish territory.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Residents in Turkish territory, not Greek territory, you see. So that is a distinction we have to make, because they are not coming, as Greek citizens do not come under this bill from Greece proper.

The CHAIRMAN. Now give us your estimate.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. My estimate is that while in the United States we may have a half million Greeks, not more than fifty or sixty thousand Greeks are in the United States who come originally from Turkish territory; therefore their relatives will be less than the Armenians, so they will have less relatives than Armenians, because there are not as many Greeks from Turkey in the United States as there are Armenians, so that your Greek problem is not so big, because you only take Greeks who have relatives in Turkey or are refugees.

Mr. RAKER. Well, Greeks in Turkey; now that includes the territory that you have designated, all the Turkish territory?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Former Turkish territory. That includes the Smyrna district and also the Constantinople district.

Mr. RAKER. It takes all that territory?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. And Thrace.

The CHAIRMAN. Now we have got the Greeks. What other nationality would be likely to be included in the terms of this bill?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, there are very few others.

Mr. VAILE. How about the Assyrians?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. The Assyrians come from Mesopotamia mostly. There are not many Assyrians in that part of Turkish territory that we are speaking of.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Hardly any; very few.

Mr. WHITE. Are there any Assyrian refugees that you know of?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Assyrian refugees? Well, there are Assyrians who have been driven from Persia and would want to come here—from Mesopotamia and Bagdad and some of them as far as India.

The CHAIRMAN. They were refugees ahead of the date fixed in this bill—that is, Assyrians?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Yes.

Mr. VAILE. Haven't we had a committee of them before us at the last session? But they left their homes before December, 1921, so that bill will not cover them.

Mr. RAKER. This would include the Italians that are in that territory that are Christians?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. They have a Government of their own.

Mr. RAKER. That is not the point. It would include Italians that were in this Turkish territory.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, how many Italians were there in that territory?

Mr. RAKER. I am asking you, just from your observation, as information for the committee. If it would not include the Italians that were living in this Turkish territory who had relatives in the United States that they could bring here?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. If they lived--according to this bill, if they lived in the Smyrna district and are refugees, they may come, but the whole number of Italians is only a few, so that that would not make a problem.

Mr. WHITE. It might include an English refugee if he had a relative here and wanted to bring him.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, that is interesting; Italian, English--any other nationalities?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. It is not for me to say. Did you only want to know how many Christians there are? That is the idea?

The CHAIRMAN. I do not say Christians; I mean people that were in Anatolia.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. I say this, that if the committee thinks that the English and Italians have their own Governments and people to look after, they can make an amendment to this bill. We do not claim this bill to be a perfect bill. You can make amendments to it.

Mr. WHITE. It does not require any amendment. It admits them without amendment.

Mr. RAKER. It would admit the Turks also. You talk about the Christian now and non-Christian--this would admit the Turk as well, would it not, if he wanted to claim to be a refugee? He could say, "I am against these Turks and what is being done by them, and I want to get out of this territory."

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. You have another immigration bill, you understand?

Mr. RAKER. No; let us hang right onto this. You are talking about the Christian and the non-Christian. If it was a Turk, he could come here under this bill if he had relatives in the United States.

Mr. WHITE. If he were a refugee.

Mr. RAKER. Yes; and he could be a refugee under this bill, couldn't he?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. I have my doubts that he will be a refugee. He would not be a refugee because he is not being murdered, not being robbed, not being molested. The Turk is the offender, not the victim.

Mr. RAKER. Then you find no Turk on earth that is against the Turk's Government? Is that right?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. You might say, perhaps, that the ex-Sultan of Turkey might want to get in as a refugee.

Mr. RAKER. Couldn't he come in?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, he is not permitted under the law prohibiting polygamy.

Mr. RAKER. Couldn't these girls come--out of the harems?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. That is up to you.

Mr. RAKER. Now, let me ask you--now, be frank about this; don't slip off that way. This would admit all these girls from the harems, would it not?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. No.

Mr. RAKER. If they could get away?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. The immigration law says polygamists can not come.

Mr. RAKER. The girls are not to blame.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. They have no relatives here.

Mr. RAKER. Now, you can not say that; that you can just go out and pick up the best young people of the country that you can get hold of and that they have no relatives in this country.

Now, let me ask you this question: Do you know where Newtown is in Massachusetts?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, I don't think I know very definitely, but I have heard of it.

Mr. RAKER. All right. Are the Armenians so constituted like other people that if they get the majority they rather control things like any other nationality does?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, in a democracy the majority controls.

Mr. RAKER. Did you get my question?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. They do it, then, just like any other people? If they are in the majority they run things, just like any other nationality runs the government if they get control of it, don't they?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, we of this country stand for majority rule; yes.

Mr. WHITE. But you don't claim they run things like the Turk does?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. No; this control would not be massacring them. They would not decide to massacre people.

Mr. RAKER. If there was a large number of other nationalities in the community where they have a majority and they did not like them, they would immediately proceed to deport them, just like we do in Newtown, Mass.?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. No; I do not think there is any such record.

Mr. RAKER. Have you looked that up to see? Do you remember what appeared before this committee, when a gentleman came here and testified that they made arrangements and took the town's money to get rid of about 2,000 Spaniards that were in this town and had a majority of Armenians?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, I don't think in Newtown we have so many Armenians.

Mr. RAKER. Well, New Britain, it was.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. No; we have not very many Armenians, I can tell you here. I have the statistics of every town in the United States, how many Armenians there are, and I can tell you, and there are no such big numbers of Armenians in New Britain. It is Assyrians. I can give you the towns where there are no more than 1,000 Armenians, and 5,000 or 3,000, if the committee wants to. I have the whole facts here.

The CHAIRMAN. Put that in the record, will you?

(The paper referred to follows:)

Statistics taken from Report of Commissioner General of Immigration, 1919, Tables XV, XVI, XVIII.

ARMENIAN.

| | Immigration. | Emigration. | Net Immigration. | Deported. | Net Increase or decrease |
|------------|--------------|-------------|------------------|-----------|--------------------------|
| 1908..... | 3,299 | 234 | 3,065 | 13 | 3,052 |
| 1909..... | 3,108 | 561 | 2,547 | 5 | 2,542 |
| 1910..... | 5,508 | 521 | 4,987 | 327 | 4,660 |
| 1911..... | 3,092 | 999 | 2,093 | 14 | 2,079 |
| 1912..... | 5,222 | 718 | 4,504 | 11 | 4,493 |
| 1913..... | 9,353 | 676 | 8,677 | 318 | 8,359 |
| 1914..... | 7,785 | 1,250 | 6,535 | 20 | 6,515 |
| 1915..... | 932 | 441 | 491 | 12 | 479 |
| 1916..... | 904 | 650 | 254 | 6 | 248 |
| 1917..... | 1,221 | 133 | 1,088 | 2 | 1,086 |
| 1918..... | 221 | 1,238 | -1,017 | 4 | -1,021 |
| 1919..... | 282 | 11 | 271 | 1 | 270 |
| Total..... | 40,987 | 7,444 | 33,543 | 763 | 32,780 |

TURKS.

| | Immigration. | Emigration. | Net Immigration. | Deported. | Net Increase or decrease |
|------------|--------------|-------------|------------------|-----------|--------------------------|
| 1908..... | 2,327 | 1,700 | 627 | 16 | 611 |
| 1909..... | 820 | 1,204 | -384 | 9 | -393 |
| 1910..... | 1,283 | 1,077 | 206 | 211 | -5 |
| 1911..... | 918 | 1,633 | -715 | 8 | -723 |
| 1912..... | 1,336 | 1,366 | -30 | 9 | -39 |
| 1913..... | 2,015 | 1,297 | 718 | 97 | 621 |
| 1914..... | 2,033 | 890 | 1,143 | 8 | 1,135 |
| 1915..... | 273 | 318 | -45 | 3 | -52 |
| 1916..... | 216 | 41 | 175 | 4 | 171 |
| 1917..... | 454 | 64 | 390 | 3 | 387 |
| 1918..... | 24 | 58 | -34 | 3 | -37 |
| 1919..... | 15 | 275 | -260 | 0 | -267 |
| Total..... | 12,377 | 9,803 | 2,574 | 370 | 2,204 |

SYRIAN.

| | Immigration. | Emigration. | Net Immigration. | Deported. | Net Increase or decrease |
|------------|--------------|-------------|------------------|-----------|--------------------------|
| 1908..... | 5,520 | 1,700 | 3,820 | 31 | 3,789 |
| 1909..... | 3,068 | 1,204 | 1,864 | 12 | 1,852 |
| 1910..... | 6,317 | 1,077 | 5,240 | 550 | 4,690 |
| 1911..... | 5,444 | 1,173 | 4,271 | 32 | 4,239 |
| 1912..... | 5,525 | 972 | 4,553 | 31 | 4,522 |
| 1913..... | 9,210 | 797 | 8,413 | 651 | 7,762 |
| 1914..... | 9,023 | 1,200 | 7,823 | 81 | 7,742 |
| 1915..... | 1,767 | 433 | 1,334 | 44 | 1,290 |
| 1916..... | 670 | 120 | 550 | 15 | 535 |
| 1917..... | 976 | 110 | 866 | 7 | 859 |
| 1918..... | 210 | 160 | 50 | 15 | 35 |
| 1919..... | 231 | 132 | 99 | 26 | 73 |
| Total..... | 48,567 | 9,078 | 39,489 | 1,495 | 37,994 |

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. I made this a study several years ago, for the interchurch movement of the Armenians of America, so I have made a study of the cities where there are 3,000, 1,000, 2,000, 100. I can furnish you all the details.

The CHAIRMAN. That is very good. We have got the same things for the Greeks.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Now, I have not finished my statement. I want to say this in regard to the Armenians in America, that the Armenians that are here they have made good. That is not our own assertion merely, but the records show it. Here I have the record showing the character of the Armenians, the records of the Commissioner of Immigration. Take the question of literacy test. The Armenian people are the most literate people among the new immigrants. The report of the Commissioner of Immigration shows that of all the immigrants admitted into this country between 1899 and 1910, the Armenians 24.1 per cent; Greeks, 26 per cent; Rumanians, 35 per cent; Polish, 35.4 was 24.1 per cent; Greeks, 26 per cent; Roumanians, 35 per cent; Polish, 35.4 per cent; Russian, 38.4 per cent; Bulgarians, 41.8 per cent; Syrians, 53.3 per cent; Portuguese, 68.2 per cent. This is a wonderful showing when you think that every Armenian had to steal his education; that they had to work under difficulties to get an education, and yet they are the most educated of all the peoples in southern Europe, including southern Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Russia, and all these territories. Furthermore, about the citizenship, the result of investigation among the immigrant employees in the manufacturing and mining industries has shown the following results: 58.2 per cent of the Armenians were naturalized; 32.0 per cent of the Italians.

Mr. RAKER. Where was that?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. This is in the manufacturing establishments in the United States. Thirty-two and nine-tenths per cent of the Italians were naturalized, 24.1 per cent of the Hebrews, 21.9 per cent of the Lithuanians were, 20 per cent of the Syrians, 17.1 per cent of the Czecho-Slovaks, 14.7 per cent of the Ruthenians, 5.3 per cent of the Portuguese, 3.7 per cent of the Greeks; and the Bulgarians—none of the Bulgarians were naturalized.

I might say also that the Armenians have made some contributions to this country that are valuable.

The CHAIRMAN. Up to what date are those figures?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. These were taken between 1899 and 1910, the Armenians.

Mr. RAKER. What point are you trying to make before the committee now?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. I am trying to make this point, that the Armenians who come are the most literate and they make citizens and that they don't stay here aliens very long when they come here. They stand the highest among new immigrants on literacy and citizenship.

That is one point. I want to make.

Another point is that during this war, the late war—

Mr. RAKER. It would seem from your statement that the more people are persecuted the more they get busy and the better they do and the better citizens they make and the less illiteracy there is among them.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Professor Huntington seems to think that the Armenian people, if they have survived for 2,000 years after persecution, there must be something to them that made them survive. I think that is only historical proof. No one can dispute that that is a fact.

Now, here may I say that we have in this country Armenians who have made contributions to American life. For example, maybe you do not know that the greenback color in the American dollar bill is a contribution of an Armenian. Doctor Seropian made this invention and sold his patent to the United States Government.

The first silk industry was introduced into this country by an Armenian in Virginia, and the General Assembly of Virginia in December, 1656, passed the following resolution: "That George, the Armenian, for his encouragement in the trade of silk and to stay in the country to follow the same, have 4,000 pounds of tobacco allowed him by the assembly."

Mr. RAKER. That is too much tobacco for one man.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Then, in education, we have about 40 Armenian professors teaching in the United States universities. We have 200 Armenian practicing physicians. We have over 50 ministers who are preaching to American congregations. The first soldier, I am told, who landed at Manila was an Armenian. Ten thousand Armenians were serving in the last war in the United States Army, which is quite large when you consider that out of the 100,000 Armenians that means children and all.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you, when you get down to the second generation, do they still carry on the statistics and call themselves Armenians?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. You mean do we call them Armenians?

Mr. VAILE. He means whether your figures there include only the first or also the second generations.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Mostly the first generation. The children have not grown big enough yet to get into the records. I felt very proud last week when I saw that a young man who is in Brown University, Gullian, who played on the football team of Brown University, that ranks with the 16 great teams in the country, and this young man was put on the team as left tackle, one of the best in the country. So you see that is a good sign that they are becoming Americanized when they begin to play football and baseball.

Mr. RAKER. You say there were 10,000 Armenians who were in the service of the United States in the last war. Were they mostly born in this country?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. No; they were mostly young men who ran away from Turkey in 1908 and 1909 to escape Turkish massacres and served in the Army and came here. A good many of them enlisted voluntarily. My own nephew was one of them. Without my knowing it he went in and enlisted and went to France and fought there, and he is now in this country.

Now, I do not want to take too much of your time, but here is a statement from the former ambassador to Germany, Andrew D. White, who says that "The Armenians are a people of large and noble capacities. For ages they have maintained their civilization under oppression that would have crushed almost any other people. The Armenian is one of the finest races in the world. If I were asked to name the most desirable races to be added by immigration to the American population, I would name among the very first the Armenians."

I have a similar statement from former Ambassador Gerard, and if we had the time I could read you a statement even better than that from our present Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think it is necessary to incorporate that into the record?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. I do not know that it is. I wish to say this—just one more word. This thing attacks me personally. I had in Smyrna my brother with his wife and 10 children. He was a prosperous shoe manufacturer. Here is a letter from his son, who is about 22 years old. He was one of the boys, Doctor Lovejoy, who, in order to escape the Turks, threw himself into the water and swam toward the American battleships. The American sailors picked him up, brought to Greece, and from there he writes and says: "My father has been carried away by the Turks. Don't know what happened to my mother and to my other sisters and brothers." I am glad to say that since then I have received another letter from his sister saying that "Mother and the rest of us arrived here, but father, we don't know whether he is dead or alive."

Now, those 10 children, from 8 months to 21 years old, are there, and they have only one carpet and one blanket as earthly property upon which they must sit and sleep day and night, and they are housed in one of the schools in Athens. They do not know how long they are going to be allowed to stay there. Now, if you were in my position as an American citizen, how would you feel? Now, if I have property, property right is something, but I feel that every American citizen has some consideration. I want to at least do some service to my brother's wife and children, to bring them over here. I am not the only one. The brother's wife has a brother here and I have another sister and they have another brother. They are all willing to go and help this family of 11, now without a father, but we can not do it unless this bill passes. We guarantee that if these people come they will not become public charges. As the Y. M. C. A. secretary, I am making affidavits for people. I have had about 434 people come to my office every month, asking me what to do. Here is a copy of an affidavit I have prepared for other people.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, STATE OF NEW YORK.

County of New York, ss:

Humayak Timaxian, being duly sworn, deposes and says that he resides at 317 East Twenty-seventh Street, New York City; that he is a citizen of the United States, having become a citizen of the United States on November 30, 1920; that his certificate is No. 1455548, issued at New York City by the dis-

trict court of the United States; that he is the brother, brother-in-law, and uncle, respectively, of Mrs. Elmas Sourian, aged 42, Krikor Sourian, age 45, and their son, Antranik Sourian, age 17, now residing at Constantinople; that he desires to bring his sister, her husband, and their son to this country; that he is employed by the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. as a storekeeper at a salary of \$150 per month and is making at least \$1,800 per annum, and is able to support his family and his sister, with her husband and son, in their accustomed station in life; that he guarantees that if allowed to come to this country the said sister, with her husband and son, will not become a public charge, but that he will support them if necessary.

On the 15th day of December, 1922, personally appeared before me Humayak Timaxian, who, being duly sworn, stated that the above statements are true. I have examined carefully the above-mentioned certificate of naturalization and am satisfied that it belongs to the deponent.

Notary Public.

The CHAIRMAN. How long do you make the guaranty?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. That guaranty is for life. You know that after five years there is a law that if they become public charges within five years they can be deported, so anyone that makes that affidavit they have to guarantee the five years. After five years, if a person here can't making a living, he is no good.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, let me ask you, if we undertook to modify this bill to make this bond mean something, we would be entitled to make the bond run for five years, and wouldn't that be offensive to the institutions of the United States?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. I do not see any necessity of having the bond for five years, because these people guarantee, and if they do not do what they say they will be deported.

The CHAIRMAN. No; we have not succeeded in deporting anyone.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Yes; we have deported every day people that I know.

The CHAIRMAN. We have not succeeded in deporting anyone who has been admitted under any of these emergency bonds, temporarily admitted, and I believe we have not collected on any of these bonds, and that in itself is a little misfortune in the law. Now, I doubt very much if the United States wants to be in the position of admitting people to a free country under bond to the United States. Have you thought about that phase of it any? You talk against the bond of five years and yet the period in which one may be deported for liability to become a public charge is five years. A bond for six months is nothing; a bond for one year is nothing, because we are all prosperous this minute. The soul does not live that can guarantee that I will not wind up in the poorhouse. Don't you see what I mean? It may be only three or four years until I am broken in health and the bond that could be put up for me would be an offense in a free country. Now that is one of the things to look at in this bill.

Mr. BAKER. Misfortune is what we are all struggling to prevent, but we look around and find about two-thirds go that way.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. I may say, Mr. Chairman, if I had my way in our quota law, I would rather see the quota reduced to 2 per cent. or 1 per cent. and in the law that preferential clause where we say that the citizen's wife and children, etc., are given preference, are made an exception.

Mr. WHITZ. Why don't you eliminate all the percentage and just admit the relatives, not admit anyone except the relatives?

The CHAIRMAN. You know the flaw in that, do you not? You know what prevents that. Complaint is made by those who seem to want common labor, alien labor, against bills of that kind, and even the quota bill is admitting dependent people and not working people. Now just as soon as we get through with this hearing we will be ready to hear those who claim that they must have cheap alien labor in the United States in order to keep the wheels going around. That is the next labor for the committee, and there is something to it. The fact is that we can not be always admitting dependent people, as much as we would like to do it. I would like to give every boy a chance to bring his mother here, if he thinks he is able to support her. Whether he can or not is another question. I would like to take him on his word that he would like to try, but you see the situation it breeds, don't you?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. I see this, that the present law is retarding the process of Americanization in this way, that those who are citizens and are here permanently, when they see that they can not bring their fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, they are not so contented. Of course, you can not make people contented when you keep their families apart.

The CHAIRMAN. I will tell you what is retarding Americanization, if you will permit me, the everlasting fact that every people that comes here and becomes citizens persists in keeping close statistics on their people and encouraging them all to believe that they are another people, a different people. That is what hurts us.

Mr. RAKER. That is it exactly. You will find everyone that ever comes here—nobody has ever questioned it, and it hurts. Every man that comes belongs to an organization. His people are the only ones that are good people; the rest are no account.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. They are all good people.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course they are good people. We don't deny that at all, and that is another flaw in the bill. We are picking out—we are listening to you now by the hour in behalf of the Armenians as above other refugees. Now, I will tell you, that so far as I am concerned, if I have my way about it and bring this bill out, refugees will be refugees. It is not for me to say that one is a preferred class over another.

(The pamphlet offered by Mr. Kalaidjian follows:)

THE ARMENIANS IN AMERICA.

The immigration of Armenians to the United States is of comparatively recent date. While there were a few Armenians in America, even in the early seventeenth century, their number was insignificant. The Armenian immigration may be classified into three periods for convenience. First, the period of the pioneers. Those who came up to 1894, about 4,000 altogether. Second, the period which we may call suppressed immigration, which falls between the years of 1894 and 1908. The majority of those who came to this country at this time were from Armenian Provinces where Turkish oppression was most severe, where massacres were beyond description, and life was unbearable. Third, immigration which we may call the period of larger immigration which falls between the years 1908 and 1914. According to the most reliable sources of information, there are at the present time in the United States approximately 100,000 Armenians. In the early years most of the Armenians in the United States lived in the North Atlantic States, but to-day, while most of the Armenians are still to be found in the Eastern States, there are important colonies in the Middle West, and especially on the Pacific coast. There are about 25,000 in the New England district, about 20,000 in the north Atlantic district, about 15,000 in the central district, about 5,000 in the southern district, and about 20,000 in the Pacific coast district.

CHARACTER OF ARMENIAN IMMIGRATION.

"The Armenians are a people of large and noble capacities. For ages they have maintained their civilization under oppression that would have crushed almost any other people. The Armenian is one of the finest races in the world. If I were asked to name the most desirable races to be added by immigration to the American population, I would name among the very first the Armenian." (Andrew D. White, ambassador to Germany.)

"Over 40 per cent of the Armenians admitted into the United States are, according to the classification of our Immigration Bureau, skilled laborers and educated professional men and women. The record of their character, life, and activities in our country brings to light the substantial qualities of Armenian people. By comparison they stand head and shoulder above all other immigrant races from southeastern Europe and Asia Minor." (Hon James W. Gerard, former ambassador to Germany.)

ARMENIANS AND LITERACY.

The Armenian people are the most literate people among the new immigrants. The report of the Immigration Commission shows that among the immigrants admitted into this country between 1899 and 1910 Armenians were the least illiterate.

| | Per cent illiterate. |
|-----------------|----------------------|
| Armenians..... | 24.1 |
| Greeks..... | 26.0 |
| Rumanians..... | 35.0 |
| Polish..... | 35.4 |
| Russian..... | 38.4 |
| Bulgarians..... | 41.8 |
| Syrians..... | 53.3 |
| Turks..... | 58.9 |
| Portuguese..... | 63.2 |

ARMENIANS AND NATURALIZATION.

The result of investigation among the immigrant employees in the manufacturing and mining industries has shown the following results:

| | Per cent naturalized. |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Armenians..... | 58.2 |
| Italians..... | 32.9 |
| Hebrews..... | 24.1 |
| Lithuanians..... | 21.9 |
| Syrians..... | 20.0 |
| Czecho-Slovaks..... | 17.1 |
| Ruthenians..... | 14.7 |
| Portuguese..... | 5.3 |
| Greeks..... | 3.7 |
| Bulgarians..... | 0.0 |

ARMENIAN CONTRIBUTIONS.

Armenian people have not been in this country long enough to make many impressive contributions to American life, but they have made some important contributions to it, nevertheless. One of the earliest Armenian contributions has been in the care and in the raising of the silkworm. Two Armenians came here as expert cultivators of the silkworm and their work in the Virginia colony was so successful that in December, 1650, the Assembly of Virginia passed the following resolution: "That George, the Armenian, for his encouragement in the trade of silk and to stay in the country to follow the same, have 4,000 pounds of tobacco allowed him by the assembly."

At the present Dr. Vartan Osgian, of New Orleans, is the director of the largest silkworm farm in America. After 10 years of experiment Doctor Osgian has succeeded by changing the quality and quantity of food to produce silk in 18 different colors. This discovery is bound to revolutionize the silk industry.

Another noteworthy contribution of the Armenians is the green color used in the American dollar bill. Doctor Seropian made this invention and sold his patent to the United States Government and thus contributed in standardizing American currency.

The beautiful oriental rugs were introduced by the Armenians. Originally they controlled the entire business in the United States, and at present at least 80 per cent of the oriental rug business is in the hands of this race. The beautiful Herati rug, which is recognized as one of the finest domestic rugs in America, is manufactured by the well-known Armenian firm, Karagheusian & Co., of New York City. The Armenians also have developed an extensive business in the importation and sale of beautiful handwork and objects of art.

The fermented milk called Zoolak is recommended highly by the doctors both as a healthful diet and beverage. It was introduced by Doctor Dadirian, an Armenian.

The Armenians have been pioneers in the art of photo-engraving. They have made some important inventions in this line, and at present they control a good deal of this trade in New York City.

There are also Armenians who are engaged in manufacturing hardware, machinery, tools, shoes, jewelry, domestic rugs, embroideries, clothing, and silk goods. The number of Armenians engaged in the export and import business and banking and financial institutions are constantly on the increase, and there is hardly a trade but what the Armenians are represented in it and are in general very successful.

ARMENIANS IN EDUCATION.

The Armenians in the United States in proportion to their number, as compared to other races, have produced the largest number of professional men, some of whom have attained marked distinction in their professions. There are over 20 Armenian professors and instructors in the leading universities and colleges in the country such as Harvard, Cornell, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Lehigh, Chicago, Wisconsin, and Trinity. During the World War some of the Armenian scientists serving the Government in research work rendered noteworthy service. Among these it is worth mentioning the service of Maj. Varstad H. Kazanjian, professor of oral military surgery and dental science at Harvard University, who headed the Harvard Medical Mission which rendered such conspicuous service in the World War to the British armies. His wonderful facial operations have attracted the attention of the medical profession all over the world. England has conferred upon him the order of the Companion of St. George and St. Michael for his distinguished service in the war. There are over 200 Armenian practicing physicians and dentists. Some of these physicians are recognized as leaders in their professions. In this connection it is worth mentioning Dr. Minas Gregory, the noted alienist at Bellevue Hospital, New York City, and also Dr. H. Malejian, of Detroit, Mich., formerly instructor in orthopedic genito-urinary surgery at the University of Michigan, who served with the rank of lieutenant colonel at Camp Custer. Also Dr. A. G. Hejlanian, chief surgeon in charge of Mercy Hospital, Anamosa, Iowa, a leading surgeon of the Middle West, who served during the war as a medical member of the Exemption Board for Iowa.

The first American soldier landing at Manila was an Armenian. Over 10,000 Armenian young men served in the American Army during the last war.

There are over 50 Armenian clergymen who are preaching to American congregations of various denominations. There have also been some Armenians who have achieved distinction in the realm of art and music. Haig Patigian is one of the leading sculptors in this country who was awarded a prize for his monument to commemorate the rebuilding of San Francisco, and who served as one of the judges of the art department in the World's Fair. The Armenians have especially distinguished themselves in the engineering profession. There are several hundred engineers, chemists, and architects, some of them occupying important positions.

Flora Zabel, wife of Raymond Hitchcock, the well-known star in the theatrical world, is an Armenian. There are Armenian singers prominently identified with the opera both in New York and Boston. There are over 300 Armenian students now studying in the universities and colleges of this country.

ARMENIANS IN AGRICULTURE.

The Armenians in California have made important contributions to the agricultural development of the State. The total acreage producing grapes in California is 250,000, and the Armenian farmers of Fresno County control 40 per cent of the acreage devoted to the production of raisin grapes. The famous Kasaba melon was introduced into the United States by the Armenians. Arakelyan, of Fresno, controls the melon business on the Pacific coast and has won the title of "melon king."

The Immigration Commission reports: "More interest attaches to the immigration activities and progress of the Armenian farmers than those of any other race * * * found in Fresno County.

"The Armenians have paid a higher price per acre for the farms purchased by them than any other race investigated.

"By working hard, by living frugally, and by good management the Armenians have usually succeeded better than any other race in accumulating property."

The rank and file of the Armenians all over the country have won the respect and esteem of the American people as law-abiding and industrious citizens. As shopkeepers, small tradesmen, laborers, and farmers they are doing their humble part in the making of America.

REV. MIHRAN T. KALAJIAN, M. A.

**STATEMENT OF MR. ARISTIDES E. PHOUTRIDES, ASSISTANT
PROFESSOR OF GREEK, YALE UNIVERSITY.**

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I am assistant professor of Greek in Yale University and a major in the United States Reserves.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been in the United States?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. Since 1906. I have been asked ever since the great crisis broke out to speak in behalf of various bodies and organizations, and I have found myself lacking in the ability to control my emotions as my Armenian friends here have been able to do. It was impossible for me to control my emotional being to such an extent as to address any gathering on this great crisis. The reason is that 3,000 years crowd into my memory. I have been studying the literature and history of a nation that for 3,000 years has existed, and I could not do it without bursting with emotion. I thought when the call came to address this committee that I ought to do it, and fearing the very thing that actually is happening now, I have prepared a statement which, with your permission, I may read to you. It will not last longer than 10 minutes and I certainly will be very glad.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be very glad to hear you.

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. I am afraid that the good friends who called upon me to present before this honorable gathering an impassioned appeal for the unfortunate Greek people as affected by the bill under discussion will be disappointed in me. I can not be impassioned. There are disasters that reach too profoundly even for tears. The disaster that has overwhelmed the Greek people since last September is such. The loss is not a loss of territory only; it is the kind that crushes body and soul, and may I have your permission to say, the body and soul of a great nation in spite of its small number and size. Every emotion in me is unleashed at the very thought of this calamity. I think I feel its blackness more because I grew among these Greeks of Asia Minor. I was born under the terror of the Turks. With them I was conscious of the splendor of the past, of the glory that was Greece's, and with them I dreamed of the great day of freedom which was to unite the people of Ionia with their mother Hellas.

It was my good fortune to tear myself from that world of gloom and find a home upon these shores but they, the mass of the people, stuck to the country of their fathers and waited for the great day. All the terrors of brutal tyranny could not drive them away and faithfully they clung to their dreams through four centuries and a half of life haunted with agony and fear. At last their great day seemed to dawn. Two years ago a Greek army landed on their shores bringing the freedom to which they had sacrificed nearly 500 years of sad existence and then, just as their long-cherished vision seemed to become a reality, the powers of darkness proved once more victorious. Greece was betrayed by her own leaders and by her allies; her armies were broken and the Turkish hordes burst in a devastating flood over Thrace and Ionia. You know the sequel. There are 2,000,000 refugees upon Greek soil today, 2,000,000 helpless beings added to the 5,000,000 of a land worn out with domestic strife and external war. Greece with a population of 5,000,000, Greece with an area of more than 45,000 square miles, which is 5,000 square miles less than the State of New York itself, without resources certainly equal to the State of New York, and nine-tenths of it mountains, 20 per cent only cultivatable, with 5,000,000 already crowding upon their shores and 2,000,000 more regardless of race, regardless of religion, regardless of health, whether they were sick, whether they were insane, not only from Turkey but even from Russia.

A week ago I received a letter from my brother, an abbot on my little island of Icaria, telling me that there came to this rocky island 8,000 refugees, and that the day on which he was writing was the tenth since they had a meal, in spite of the kindness of the islanders to divide everything they had with them. This is one of a thousand illustrations of what is happening there, and surely it is not the worst.

The bill provides that of this unfortunate nation of refugees, relatives of persons who are citizens or declarants, should be admitted. Is this so great a sacrifice for a great and affluent country which is already so nobly interested in relieving this stricken mass of humanity?

I spoke to you of 450 years of this people's sad existence, but this covers only the period of their struggle with the Turk. Their history in connection with these lands goes much farther back than that, to the very dawn of Euro-

pean civilization. From Thrace comes the cult of Dionysius, which is inseparably connected with the tragedy and comedy of Greece, and hence with the drama of the world, while in Asia Minor, Europe was first born, in 1,000 B. C.; with the wonder that was Homer. Surely there is no man among us here—I should say there is no civilized man in the world—who has not some time in his life come under the spell of such shining figures as the heroes of the Trojan myth. All of us have dreamed the dreams of Achilles and have listened spellbound to the stirring tales of Odysseus's wanderings. The last thing I was reading just before boarding the train to come here was the Odyssey. I was reading how Odysseus, shipwrecked, with all his treasures lost and all his companions lost, was cast by the waves upon a distant happy island kingdom, the land of the Chalicians, where gods are the constant companions of men, and where life is spent in great affluence and undisturbed happiness. Before the rulers of this land Odysseus comes alone and destitute, begging for hospitality.

Mr. VAILE. Doctor, let me ask you a question about Thrace. We had a gentleman before us the other day who described somewhat the history of Greece, showing that its population had been shifted in and out several times; that the Turks had taken it from the Greeks, the Greeks had taken it back from the Turks. That happened several times. If this bill were enlarged so as to cover other dates than the month of October, 1921, the Turks who would have been driven out would be refugees, would they not?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. The Turks were not driven out, sir. It is one of the noblest things, I think of the present state of Greece that although occupying the district of Thrace as Greek territory that was united by the treaty of Sévres, without any modifications about it, whereas Smyrna was not, Smyrna was only a mandatory of the powers, whereas Thrace was an actual possession. Having there a Turkish population of at least more than half, they did not drive out the Turks by any means. They actually, the very next day, elected 12 members. If I remember right—I am not sure of the number, but it is a respectable number—12 members of the Greek Parliament were representative Turks themselves, representing the Turkish population of Thrace and speaking in the parliament for the interests of that population.

Mr. VAILE. I was not referring to that particular incident. I have no doubt the Greeks dealt very generously in that instance with the people who were there, but I was referring to a series of moves of the population back and forth in there. Wasn't there any time when the Turks were forcibly ejected from Thrace by the Greek inhabitants, possibly, the original Greek inhabitants?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. No, sir; the key to the situation—that is, the question that we must realize before we go any further—the key to the situation is the Byzantium Empire, which is the Greek Empire now; it being around 1453 when Constantinople fell. Therefore, those lands which were under the Greek Government became Turkish then. Now, since that time it has been the dream of the Greek race to oust the tyrants.

Mr. VAILE. And that dream was partially accomplished from time to time?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. It never reached Thrace. This is the time it reached Thrace. It began with the liberation of Peloponnesus and Hellas. About 25 years later Thessaly was liberated, and then Macedonia was liberated, and in this last great war Thrace and Asia Minor.

Mr. VAILE. Possibly I am wrong in mentioning Thrace, but other parts of this territory, which was formerly the Byzantium Empire, having been taken by the Turks and retaken by the Greeks, they were held alternately, and when the Greeks were in control what became of the Turkish population? Was it allowed to remain?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. It was allowed to remain there.

Mr. VAILE. All the time.

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. All the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Was its nationality changed?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. It is true that in the older part of Greece there are very few Turks left as nationalists.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, they have been absorbed into the population?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. I should think so, to a large extent.

The CHAIRMAN. Has the religion changed?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. The religion has changed in those parts. In Macedonia and Thessaly it is not so. The Turkish element is still there in large

numbers. It is represented in the parliament, and it comes up to over half a million.

The CHAIRMAN. You are from one of the islands?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. I am from one of the islands.

The CHAIRMAN. You spoke here of the mythical proposition of the marriage of Ionia and Hellas. That was a dream, this proposed marriage of Ionia and Hellas?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. The union of Ionia with Hellas; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, then, that is a desire that is strong among the original Greeks yet, is it not?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. I should think so.

The CHAIRMAN. And you spoke of a large number of fine characters in mythology and later history. How does it come that the Greek population coming out from Greece now does not show us some of those noble characters?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. They are there if you will look for them.

The CHAIRMAN. You think they are there?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. Yes, sir. I have been doing my part, I think, in bringing that out.

The CHAIRMAN. What caused the fall of the empire?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. The great virtue as well as the great vice, and that was great individualism.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that a hybrid population had anything to do with that?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't think that had anything to do with it?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that has had anything to do with the bulk of the Greek population at present?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. No.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not a mixed population?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. It is not a mixed population—yes; there is a great deal of Christian blood mixed with them, but certainly no Moslem blood.

The CHAIRMAN. Even if the Turks did stay in there, there is no Moslem blood?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. No; unless it comes through legal channels, and it is impossible to conceive a situation of a Christian girl marrying a Turk, and vice versa. There may be a streak, therefore, but that streak must be very little.

Mr. RAKER. That thing will continue on indefinitely until one race or the other is exterminated. Is that right?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. With regard to places where the two populations are—

Mr. RAKER (interposing). You say it is an inconceivable thing for a Christian girl to marry a Turkish man or a Moslem, or vice versa?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. So, as a matter of fact, this hatred and this feeling, this fight will continue on until one race or the other is exterminated?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. No, sir; as long as the Turks are there it will continue—I mean as long as the Turks are there as a governing power.

Mr. RAKER. Certainly, when the Turks are in the minority then, of course, the trouble will cease. Isn't that right?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. Yes. They are not persecuted.

Mr. RAKER. I did not say anything about persecution; I simply said this constant war that has been going on for 2,000 years or more—2,000 at least—will continue, so far as the Turks are concerned—I will put it that way—until one or the other is exterminated in this territory?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. Well, no; I do not believe your statement is right. It can be answered that, first, the Turk's history there is only just a little less than five centuries.

Mr. RAKER. Well, that is some time—five centuries.

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. Secondly, the Turks, when they are ruled by another power, give the least trouble, because they are treated humanely. For example, you have in Serbia now a million Turks, and you hear nothing of that, do you?

Mr. RAKER. Yes; we had a witness here that was down through there, and he said they were the most dissatisfied and discontented people on earth.

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. Have you heard of any persecutions, of any massacres, or anything of that sort?

Mr. RAKER. The number is so small you can't persecute many of them.

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. A Turk who comes from Serbia here will tell you that the population resent it, but there is no doubt that they are treated humanely.

Mr. RAKER. Unless they are under a majority government or are exterminated the Turks will pop up, and it will be an element of discord from now until eternity unless one of the two things occurs.

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. How does the Turk look at the other side? Does he believe the same way? Doesn't the Turk believe it will continue unless he is the dominant factor?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. In the one case you speak the point of view of every sane man in the world; in the other you would speak the point of view of the Turk.

Mr. RAKER. I am willing to put it that way if you want to call me a Turk, all right.

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. If you balance those two answers together.

Mr. RAKER. You know some men are cowards when they get before the public. Some are afraid to express their honest judgment; some will be ready and willing to let the whole population sink over and above a little personal aggrandizement of the present time.

Now, I am asking you if it is not a fact that the Turk feels that if he were running the thing there would be no trouble?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. Well, suppose I answer—what would you do with it?

Mr. RAKER. That is not the question. You know something about the Turk.

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. Naturally the brigand always thinks that it will be better if he is allowed to rob and pillage.

Mr. RAKER. Certainly; that is the situation.

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. But you take him and you put him into prison and reform him, which is exactly what should be done with the Turk.

Mr. RAKER. So, as a matter of fact, this thing will continue on until there is some definite separation of the people in that country?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, let me ask you—you are quite a student and a professor in Yale; you have paid a good deal of attention to the affairs of Europe.

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. Yes, sir; as a member of the military intelligence it was my duty to be familiar with the political situation in the Near East, especially in the Moslem country in general.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you be willing to express an opinion as to whether the population, generally speaking, of the Continent is not in a life-and-death struggle with questions of food for its people and avoiding freezing in the winter? Isn't that really the question, and brought about largely by overpopulation?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. I do not think I have gotten the question.

The CHAIRMAN. Isn't that whole country over there overpopulated?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And isn't there a great struggle for food in every one of those countries?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. In Greece there is; yes. I would not say that Turkey is overpopulated in the least. Asia Minor is the granary of the whole Byzantium Empire, one of the richest Provinces under European control at that time, and Asia Minor now is a desert. Why?

The CHAIRMAN. Which is Asia Minor? Show it to me on the map?

(Mr. Phoutrides indicates on map.)

The CHAIRMAN. You spoke of it as a Province now; existing as Asia Minor or as a Province until what year?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. Asia Minor was a Province of the Byzantium Empire until it was overpowered by the Turks, which happened in the beginning of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Mr. RAKER. A long time ago.

The CHAIRMAN. So now when you speak of the prosperous country, you mean you go back to the thirteenth century?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. It is still there.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, which was Asia Minor then?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. The particular region which I think is especially so qualified is this one here, from here down to the shore (indicating on map). Then the coast region here has been also very productive in mineral resources.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that where the people live that have this name "Levantine"?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. "Levantine" is a term that should not be used seriously, because it doesn't mean anything.

The CHAIRMAN. "Levantine" means Greeks in Asia Minor, doesn't it?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. It may mean Armenians; it may mean Italians that have colonized there; it may mean French who are there—any term referring to Christians who live in that territory.

The CHAIRMAN. It does mean exactly that thing, doesn't it?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. Yes; but it is a vague term. It doesn't carry out at all any definite meaning.

The CHAIRMAN. What part of the population does it apply to?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. It is applied in all kinds of ways, and therefore it has no definite value.

Mr. WHITE. It refers to inhabitants, residents, but not to the territory?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. It refers to territory, too. It refers to Christian inhabitants of Asia Minor.

Mr. WHITE. But not to well-defined national territory?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. No, sir.

Mr. WHITE. It refers to a population who are there?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. And who have been and are in a sense foreigners?

Mr. RAKER. Professor, I understood that taking south of the Black Sea, east a little—well, commencing about south of Constantinople—and coming along the Mediterranean, and then dropping east of the Caspian Sea, south of Russia, there would be about 15,000,000 people in that territory at the present time?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. No, sir; the territory there would not include that many.

Mr. RAKER. This territory commencing there [indicating]; taking that territory about like that [indicating].

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. That would not take, in my mind, any more than, say, in the neighborhood of 17,000,000 to 20,000,000.

Mr. RAKER. That is what I say. Now, I am told—I want you to give your statement about it—that this is one of the richest countries in the world, and that it is capable, properly cultivated and taken care of—the mineral and other natural resources properly used—of easily providing for a population of seventy-five to ninety million people.

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. I should not wonder in the least if it would.

Mr. RAKER. So that, as a matter of fact, this terror, this trouble, is not because of overpopulation?

Mr. PHOUTRIDES. No. Now may I say that the plight of the refugees affected by the bill is a striking parallel of the episode described by the supreme of poets. These people, too, have had their days of happiness, their past of great achievements, their hosts of dreams that have gone out like a candle in the evening wind. They now stand upon the shores, stripped of all except their dreams, begging for your hospitality.

I wish you would forget my insignificance when you hear my words. I would rather you would imagine before you the great hard himself, old with the burden of 3,000 years, leaning upon his staff, stooping and trembling, with face saddened by the tragedy of life which he knew more than anyone else, and with blind eyes, blind to all that is transitory as they are all seeking for life's holiest dreams. He and not I should plead before you now, for he is Homer, and these refugees of life are Homer's children.

The CHAIRMAN. If that completes your statement we will hear the next witness.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. May I be allowed to finish?

The CHAIRMAN. It is 5 o'clock. How many witnesses have you here that want to be heard?

Mr. WHITE. Well, Mr. Chairman, there is Mr. Watson. I do not know that I am anxious to introduce any more witnesses.

STATEMENT OF MR. E. O. WATSON, SECRETARY OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. WATSON. I am secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, detailed to the Washington office. I have only to say, first, what the Federal Council of Churches is, if you desire to know, namely, the official organic and representative body of 32 of the large and some of the smaller Protestant denomina-

tions of the United States of America. It is officially constituted—made up of representatives of all those bodies officially appointed as a council, not as a controlling body at all. I am asked by them to come before you on this occasion and submit to you these facts: That they regard this matter as very urgent, one to which the Federal Council is closely committed by its previous official actions, and one which, so far as we can judge, has the warm approval of our constituent bodies.

I am asked to lay before you, in this connection, first a copy of action taken by a conference of many organizations, including the Federal Council, interested in the Near East, as reported in the Federal Council Bulletin for October-November, 1922.

(The paper referred to follows.)

EXPRESSING THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE IN NEAR EAST CRISIS.

Nothing which the Federal council has done in recent months has been the subject of so much favorable comment as its prompt and vigorous action when face to face with the crisis in the Near East.

The letter which has been sent to 100,000 Protestant churches in the country, dealing both with the international problem and with the question of relief, is printed on another page. Nearly 1,000 replies to this letter have already been received, telling what churches in every part of the country are doing to arouse and create public opinion on our Nation's responsibility.

On November 8 an all-day conference of representatives of the religious and charitable organizations interested in the Near East was called by the Federal Council to consider policies and to reach, so far as possible, agreement as to plans for future work. The findings, presented to Secretary Hughes by Doctor Finley, Bishop Brent, and Dr. Stanley White, are as follows:

"Whereas Secretary Hughes has definitely stated in his recent address at Boston, when referring to the situation in the Near East, that this Government has pledged itself to see that the international obligations of the United States shall be met and that there shall be no confiscation or repudiation of America's rights; and

"Whereas we believe that even more important than property rights are human rights, involving other people than ourselves and laying upon us inescapable moral obligation: Therefore be it

"Resolved (1) That we respectfully assure the President that we welcome the statements of Secretary Hughes in regard to this Government's intention to stand for—

"(a) The freedom of the Straits:

"(b) The protection of religious minorities in the Near East.

"(c) The protection of American property rights and the lives of American citizens:

"(d) The freedom to carry on religious and educational work.

"We believe these things can be more surely accomplished by the appointment of accredited delegates at Lausanne clothed with more power than mere observers, and we believe this can be done without entangling America in European political affairs.

"We also hope that America may have among her representatives at the Lausanne conference some one from this country who is intimately acquainted with the humanitarian interests of the Near East, and who is so closely in touch with present-day public opinion in America that he can voice the sentiment which has expressed itself in the gifts for relief, missionary, and educational work of over \$120,000,000. In making this request we believe that we are expressing the sentiment of approximately 50,000,000 members of the Christian churches of all faiths in America.

"(2) That we make definite request of the administration at Washington to open the way for appropriate congressional action at the earliest moment, so to modify the immigration laws as to permit for a short time the entrance of more than the present quota of persons from those countries from which the stricken people of the Near East are now fleeing; it being understood that the requisite evidence shall be given that they will not become public charges.

"(3) That we make an earnest plea that this Government use its powerful influence to secure for the Armenian people a protected national home, so that the stricken people may not find in Soviet Russia their only friend, and that America may enter into its present opportunity of expressing again its historic interest in oppressed peoples of other lands."

MASS MEETING TO AROUSE PUBLIC OPINION.

On Sunday, September 24, only a few days after the tragedy of Smyrna, the federal council held a great mass meeting at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, in Synod Hall, to voice the Christian sentiment of the country in behalf of the American Government's assuming its share of responsibility for the prevention of further massacre. The crowd was so great that the police had to close the doors, and an outdoor overflow meeting was held on the cathedral grounds.

The speakers were Dr. Robert E. Speer, Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick, and Rev. James L. Barton. The presiding officer was Dr. John Finley, chairman of the Federal Council's commission on international justice and good will, and editor of the New York Times. The keynote of all the addresses was that the United States must assume at once its share of moral responsibility for securing protection of the minorities in the Near East.

Doctor Speer, in announcing the purpose of the meeting, said:

"We are not here to feed the fires of hatred against the Turk, nor to propose war, nor to urge our Government to take sides on disputed political issues. But we are here to declare our conviction that religious minorities are entitled to protection, to appeal to our Nation to accept its inescapable duty in aiding and establishing a righteous peace in the Near East, and to insist that the Armenian people are entitled to some home of their own where they can be safe and able to take care of themselves."

APPEAL TO WASHINGTON.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted and forwarded to Washington:

"The tragedy of Smyrna has astounded the world, and shocked the sensibilities of all peoples of all creeds and religions. We, therefore, voicing, as we believe, the strong conviction of the philanthropic and loyal people of America, make the following appeal:

"First. That an immediate and generous response be made to the need for food and clothing for the hundreds of thousands of absolutely destitute refugees whose chief hope is in America, and that the Near East Relief be requested to use its organization for this purpose.

"Second. That we entreat the United States Government, the Allies, the League of Nations, and especially France, which has entered into treaty relations with the Kemalist Government, that measures be taken at once to prevent future atrocities and afford an adequate guaranty and protection to the minority populations left under the rule of the Turk.

"Third. That because of the wide interests of America in the right settlement of these questions, the United States be represented in the forthcoming conference on near eastern affairs."

A cablegram was forwarded to the secretary of the League of Nations, at Geneva, "congratulating it for its stand in behalf of protection of minorities and the establishment of an Armenian national home." A cablegram to Monsieur Poincare, the French prime minister, appealed to France to take the lead in affording protection to minorities.

OTHER MASS MEETINGS AND APPEALS.

Similar mass meetings have been held in Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Seattle, Louisville, and other cities.

I am asked also to call your attention to the resolution adopted by the administrative committee of the Federal Council, November 10, 1922:

"Whereas at Ellis Island many Greek and Armenian refugees from Constantinople and Asia Minor coming to relatives in America are being denied admission because the annual quota of immigrants from Greece and Turkey is exhausted; and

"Whereas American Greeks and Armenians desire to bring to safety in America their relations now suffering privations after evacuating Smyrna, Constantinople, and Thrace, but can not do so because the quotas for the year are already full; and

"Whereas the enactment of restrictive immigration legislation can be made compatible with the traditional American policy of offering an asylum in emergency to victims of religious and political persecution: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That the Federal Council of Churches urge the administration to take appropriate action to prevent exclusion of those refugees from Asia Minor and Thrace now at our ports of entry, and to make possible for a short time the admission of a limited number of such refugees in excess of quota, coming to families who shall guarantee that they shall not become public charges."

I am also asked to call your attention to the fact that the local federations that have been formed in different cities of the churches, as organized in these cities, have communicated their will and their wish that something of this sort be done by this Congress.

I have here copies of letters from Dayton, Ohio, and Louisville, Ky., federation of churches, and letters that have just been received by the president, Doctor Speer, setting forth some peculiar individual conditions.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection those may be placed in the record.

(The papers referred to follow:)

DAYTON COUNCIL OF CHURCHES,
Dayton, Ohio, December 11, 1922.

Mr. SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT,
General Secretary, Federal Council of Churches,
New York City, N. Y.

DEAR MR. CAVERT: I am glad to get a copy of Senate bill No. 4092, introduced by Senator Keyes, concerning the admission of refugees from Turkish territory. The Dayton Council of Churches, the Dayton Federation of Women's Missionary Societies, and International Institute have been in touch with the President and the Secretary of Labor concerning some refugees now being held at Ellis Island. In addition, I have been in touch with our Senators and find that they are willing to support a carefully wrought-out plan which will meet this situation without breaking down our present immigration restriction laws. Our Representative in Congress from this district is also sympathetic.

Senator Willis, of Ohio, is a member of a committee on immigration to which Senator Keyes's bill will no doubt be referred. He has promised me to vote in favor of reporting out any such measures as may come before the committee.

Thanking you for drawing my attention to this matter, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

IRVIN E. DEEB, *Executive Secretary.*

CHURCHMEN'S FEDERATION,
Louisville, Ky., December 13, 1922.

Rev. SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT,
New York City.

SIR: Our federation, at its monthly meeting yesterday, was unanimous in favoring the passage of Senate bill 4092, an act to permit the admission into the United States of refugees from Turkish atrocities.

I am writing our Senator and Congressman to-day.

Yours,

M. P. HUNT, *Executive Secretary.*

Dr. ROBERT E. SPEER,
New York City.

DEAR DOCTOR SPEER: We, Mr. and Mrs. Yervand Nalbandian, United States citizens, serial No. 1267547, beg you on bended knee to save our long-lost but newly gained sister, Miss Shenorhig Topousian, only living relative, from deportation due to the Armenian quota being filled.

We belong to one of the oldest, largest, most united, inseparable, and loving families of Sivas (our city in Turkish Armenia), and have references to prove the same. Twenty-one of the 25 members of our family have suffered massacre at the hands to the slaughtering Turks. We beg you most humbly to save our poor sister, who already has suffered four years' slavery, from slavery that knows no end and is most degrading.

We sent a telegram (December 12) to President Harding and are awaiting his favorable reply, yet, nevertheless, we beseech you as Christians to save her from the hands of the torturing infidel, and we feel sure that God will reward you for your trouble and mercy. At present she, a good, upright, God-fearing Christian, is awaiting her fate at the doors of this country (Ellis Island). Oh, please don't close the only portal of refuge from this poor girl who already has known so many years of the cruellest kind of torture, misery, and unhappiness—a mere child of 10 torn from the side of loving friends and already a witness of the massacre of 21 of her relatives.

We are more than willing to furnish any bond or any voucher that you deem necessary.

Thanking you again and again for your kind consideration of this prayer as it were, and hoping that you will hear our cry and open your ears to our plea, we beg to remain,

Gratefully yours,

AZNIY TOPOUSIAN NALBANDIAN.
YERVAND NALBANDIAN.

FOR URGENT ACTION.

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA,

New York, December 7, 1922.

The movement to secure permission for at least a limited number of refugees from the Near East to enter America has now reached a point where vigorous action is needed from all of the local federations and councils of churches in the country.

A bill was introduced on December 4 into the Senate, known as Separate bill 4092, by Senator Keyes, of New Hampshire, entitled "An act to permit the admission into the United States of refugees from Turkish territories." A copy of the bill is inclosed herewith. You will note that it guards the matter carefully by requiring that all who come shall conform to the present immigration standards and shall come in care of relatives so that it will be certain that they will not become public charges.

There are already at Ellis Island Armenians and Greeks who are denied admission on the ground that the quotas for these groups are already full. According to the best estimate, the refugees from Turkish territory will total nearly a million. It is obviously impossible for Greece alone to carry this whole burden, as it means an addition of nearly 20 per cent to its own population. America must help in some way. Those who have studied the matter most carefully, including representatives of the Near East Relief, the Y. W. C. A., the Federal Council of Churches, and several of the denominations separately, agree that some such measure as that which is proposed by this bill is called for. The administrative committee of the federal council at its last meeting unanimously indorsed the proposal that the council should use its influence to create public opinion to make it possible for refugees to be admitted.

Will you not do everything possible to secure the interest of the Christian forces of your city in this matter? We would suggest that letters be sent, from as many quarters as possible, to representatives both in the Senate and in the House, and that full publicity be given to whatever you do in the way of resolutions or other measures.

Very sincerely yours,

SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT,
General Secretary.

Mr. RAKER. When was this action taken?

Mr. WATSON. On the 8th of November I believe the first action was taken and it was reaffirmed this past week most emphatically in Indianapolis, Ind., where there were gathered members of the executive committee, made up of direct representatives of these churches.

Mr. RAKER. Where was it originally acted upon? What city?

Mr. WATSON. In New York City by the administrative committee.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the date of the adoption in Indianapolis.

Mr. WATSON. In Indianapolis this past week, from the 12th to 15th.

The CHAIRMAN. Did that have anything to do with the request that these hearings be postponed? Were there requests made that these hearings be postponed on that occasion?

Mr. WATSON. Not that I know of.

Mr. WHITE. Of course, you understand that the administration has no power in this matter and has no discretion.

Mr. VAILE. The resolution was not referring to the administration as the executive branch of the Government, but referring to the Government generally, I think, congressional as well as executive.

Mr. WATSON. I, with Dr. John H. Finlay, Bishop Brent, and Stanley White, appeared before Mr. Hughes and we discussed the matter in full detail with reference to all these questions.

Mr. RAKER. Were you present when this matter was taken up by the conference in New York?

Mr. WATSON. No, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Nor Indianapolis?

Mr. WATSON. I heard the papers that were read there.

Mr. RAKER. Would they have any testimony before them as to the general conditions?

Mr. WATSON. We had man after man who was fresh from the field to make addresses, such men as Bishop Nuelsen, whom you may know, and Robert Speer, who has just come back from tours through that country.

Mr. RAKER. I notice by that resolution you said they should be admitted temporarily. Do you stand for that?

Mr. WATSON. Yes; I stand for the admission in this particular case temporarily. I want to say, if I may, personally I am for a larger and wider thing than is asked for.

Mr. RAKER. What do you mean by that, Doctor? Explain it.

Mr. WATSON. Personally, I would like for this to be very much what our chairman here has indicated that he would stand for, "refugees." Personally I feel and believe that the doctrine of the good Samaritan must apply individually and that it must apply nationally, and if our American country is to live as it has lived in the past there must be regard for the humanities; we must meet such situations as this helpfully.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not in favor of restrictive immigration?

Mr. WATSON. Yes; I am decidedly, and particularly at this time in favor of restrictive immigration. I do not believe that the same impulses that existed in the minds of the pioneers exist in the hearts and minds of thousands who would now come to America if those gates had not been put up, and I thank God that they were put up just as they were. Now I will not go on speaking before you, but you understand me. I am in favor of restricted immigration. Just now in the face of this emergency I am in favor of doing something even larger than is proposed here in this bill, but when you tell me that we can not consistently—and I take it that you men know better than I—that we can not consistently do all that I would like to do, then I say in God's name, the least that we could do is to let this man (referring to a naturalized Armenian present) who is himself an American citizen, bring his own mother, if she were across there, here. Now then, I want to enlarge that as to all such men in America who are American citizens. That, I say, is the least that we can do.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you came for a little more than this bill?

Mr. WATSON. I did not come for that. I came for that bill. I am telling you that personally I would like to see something more in that bill, or something more than that bill.

The CHAIRMAN. While you were at the State Department did you discuss whether a bill of this kind would be a violation of the favored-nations clauses of our treaties?

Mr. WATSON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you think the immigration restriction, which is the only one we ever really had in the United States, was put up at the right time?

Mr. WATSON. I think it would have been very unfortunate if it had not been put up. I wonder if it would not have been wise to put it up before it was put up.

The CHAIRMAN. The various Congresses could not do it. Every restrictive bill since the first administration of Grover Cleveland to the last administration of Woodrow Wilson was vetoed, because primarily it ended the United States as an asylum. Now you come after a good deal of study and compliment this committee and others by saying that the bars were put up in the nick of time. You do not mean to apply that to any race of people, do you, or any religion?

Mr. WATSON. That is not in my mind at all. Then I wish to say to you that on the principle of humanity, if I follow you—I want to qualify what you make me say by saying that on the principle of all the humanities, when you put those quotas there properly, then there is a tragedy and a calamity such as has been clearly shown you, as has never been before in all the world's history; the least thing we can do is that when one of my own blood is out yonder in wreck and ruin, that I, as a citizen—an American citizen—be allowed to bring that one in.

Mr. RAKER. You would make no distinction?

Mr. WHITE. You are in favor of all the restrictions that are written in the law, the general law?

Mr. WATSON. So far as I know them I am.

Mr. WHITE. You are not in favor of admitting anyone that is criminal or diseased or liable to become a public charge or that believes in the overthrow of government by force and violence?

Mr. WATSON. Certainly not.

Mr. WHITE. And you recognize, do you not, that this is an emergency proposition?

Mr. WATSON. Certainly.

Mr. WHITE. And you know that we have already passed to the House and the Senate one emergency proposition, nothing like as distressing as this nor so extensive, and on account of the inflexibility of our law, which is an experiment and we think it has succeeded remarkably well, being the first time we have tried it in 135 years; that in this emergency, which is much more dire and distressing, which appeals to all humanity, that we ought to go as far as we can go.

Mr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. And protect all of our interests and not go any further?

Mr. WATSON. I think we could go even a little further than this.

Mr. WHITE. I say, as far as we can go safely.

Mr. WATSON. But when you men tell me that this is as far as you dare go, I think you ought to go that far.

Mr. WHITE. I think so, too.

Mr. RAKER. It is nice to play the part of the good Samaritan.

Mr. WATSON. Nice? It is salvation to your soul, brother. If you don't do it, your soul is lost; I will tell you that right now.

Mr. RAKER. I want to ask you a question. It is very well for a government, as far as it can, to play the part of the good Samaritan, but would you draw the line as to whom you would apply it to?

Mr. WATSON. I do not.

Mr. RAKER. You would make no distinction?

Mr. WATSON. No.

Mr. RAKER. You would let the fellow come in here—now let me ask a question—

Mr. WATSON (Interposing). You are asking me leading questions—trying to lead me.

Mr. RAKER. You would let the fellow come in here, then, who the very moment he lands on our shores begins with his knife and torch to destroy the very institutions that we have created?

Mr. WATSON. Haven't I answered that question?

Mr. WHITE. That is not playing the good Samaritan.

Mr. WATSON. That is not the question at all.

Mr. RAKER. Yes; it is. You have to make a distinction, don't you?

Mr. WATSON. If there is a man out here to-night, and I hear him cry from my home—I live just out in Virginia—and I go out and find that some Ku-Klux, or others, have attacked some poor fellow, I am going to try to help him. That is the individual gospel law. My gospel requires it of me. When I get to him I am going to relieve him so far as I can. If I find that he is the type of man that you are just now describing, I will turn him over to the authorities that will take care of him under the powers of the law.

Mr. RAKER. Exactly. And you feel as though such laws and such restrictions and such regulations should be applied?

Mr. WATSON. On the other hand, if I find that it is a tender, sweet little baby girl that has been abandoned out there, I will take her to my home, and my wife will take her to her heart and say, "You can't take this darling away from me."

Mr. RAKER. That is good argument.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I am afraid we have gotten into that very pickle ourselves.

Mr. WATSON. Several times in my own life I have had some child come into my life just that way.

Mr. RAKER. We have two here now. We have the gentleman sitting at the end of the table on my right and the lady sitting at the end of the table on my left. Her story is wonderful, her personal experience is excellent, and then from that reason, because we have let her in temporarily, you come and say we should throw down the bars to all the balance. Isn't that about the situation?

Mr. WATSON. No; I have not said anything like that.

Mr. WHITE. You did not say that at all, did you?

Mr. WATSON. I have not said anything like that.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. Now here is about the situation we are in. We saw fleeing people everywhere as a result of the World War; we saw broken people helpless everywhere, and we felt that for the protection of the United States we should have some restriction as quickly as we could. We tried to get one form and we got another. We sat here by the week, day and night, trying to write a little flexibility in the law, to give somebody the last say. It was not possible to write more. Then the first year of the new quota law we admitted in excess about 2,400 aliens. We desired to justify these admissions, all of which were for various reasons, and last March, nine months ago, we managed to pass such a resolution in the House and the Senate committee has just passed it. In the meantime the number is a few hundred more. In the old immigration law there was a clause permitting a person to be admitted under bond, under certain conditions. That clause is in the nature of a loophole, and it had been used to justify these admissions under bond and the appeal continued and each time one is denied the cry goes up, "You admitted this man's brother, why can't you admit my sister?" And we all know pretty well that persons so admitted will be deported.

In addition to those persons admitted under bond, in the peculiar position of being in the United States under bond, supposed to be temporarily in, we have 200 feeble-minded and insane persons, who were admitted also under bond, who were able to cross the seas in time of war, but were unable to leave in time of war on account of the perils of the seas, and they are in the country.

Mr. WATSON. With their bond expired?

The CHAIRMAN. The bond expired, and they are either in the homes of their families or in the State institutions, and do you suppose there is any power that can pick them up in spite of the heartrending appeals and get them out, when the family is all here and all cry, "Where shall we send them? The boundaries of countries have changed." Now, see the predicament we are in.

Mr. WATSON. I know. I have in mind your difficulties. I have had many of the same questions up and had to go through with them.

The CHAIRMAN. If an alien's nephew comes to our gates, and the nephew turns out to be a feeble-minded boy of 15, he is at the door, and you couldn't keep him out any more than you would out of your own house.

Mr. WATSON. I am not going to fail to save one individual—or 1,000, I should say, or 5,000, for fear I will save one wrong one.

The CHAIRMAN. That is just it. I have been over this thing from every angle, and I find that all the people of the United States will rise up to save one, and then say keep out 1,000,000.

Mr. WATSON. I know that, but all the same—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). There has hardly been a day for a year and a half that there hasn't been from one to five at my office begging and begging. How long will a man stand it?

Mr. WATSON. I understand that, because even where I am hundreds of those come to me who have nothing to do with the question and appeal to me. I know what your troubles must be.

Mr. RAKER. I find some of my colleagues get a little bit cross at me because sometimes I am a little persistent in getting out the facts. Because I ask a question it is sometimes taken that my opinion is so and so. But be that as it may, let me ask you this question: Have you stopped to think that what the chairman has said that these 2,400 or thereabouts were at our shores begging admission when this emergency resolution went through? A great many opposed it entirely on the plan of the Good Samaritan, who was desirous of getting money for bringing them over, and when we passed a law to make a penalty on him, that Good Samaritan is not bringing those people to our shores. Have you stopped to think about that?

Mr. WATSON. I have never thought of that, because you put altogether out, if you will excuse me, of its meaning the word "Samaritan."

Mr. RAKER. I know, I put it out strong.

Mr. WATSON. You are trying to use the word "profiteer" instead of "Samaritan."

Mr. RAKER. No; I used the word "Samaritan" because you used it in the sense of helping them.

Mr. WATSON. You use the word "Samaritan" in the sense of a scoundrel, a rascal; therefore I had never thought of the Good Samaritan as being that, for he never was that, and the Good Samaritan ought not to be used as anybody who does that sort of business. That was not the Good Samaritan, the work that you are talking about.

Mr. RAKER. Taking the view as you do in regard to the use of the words, the Government was deceived by virtue of men who desired to make money.

Mr. WATSON. Possibly.

Mr. RAKER. And who had the same sad story, to a certain extent, not quite as much as now, to let those refugees into the United States. Did you know anything about that condition when they sought to have these refugees admitted?

Mr. WATSON. I do not know just what you are talking about. I do not see the bearing of just what you are saying now.

Mr. RAKER. Don't you know that a year and a half ago there were some 15,000 people who desired to be admitted, that had been brought across from the old country by the ships when this 3 per cent law took effect?

Mr. WATSON. I know there was quite a bit of trouble on this side because of that fact.

The CHAIRMAN. Who else wants to be heard now? I wish to thank all the witnesses for their patience here to-day and the information they have given the committee.

STATEMENT OF MRS. McCORMICK, 14 WEST FRANKLIN STREET, BALTIMORE, MD.

Mrs. McCORMICK. I just got back a little while ago from Constantinople, where I helped to get a good many thousand people away from there. I was very grateful to have been able to get them out.

The CHAIRMAN. You are connected with what organization?

Mrs. McCORMICK. The Near East Relief.

The CHAIRMAN. How many employees has that association?

Mrs. McCORMICK. I have no idea. I happen to be a volunteer worker myself. I have been there for four years.

The CHAIRMAN. Now your statement?

Mrs. McCORMICK. My statement is simply this, that in those that I helped to get out—not Near East Relief work but merely as a private individual—every one of them had to go through a medical examination with three American physicians—one for trachoma, one for mentality, and one for physical fitness generally. Those were examinations which had to be gone through with and had to be paid for.

Mr. RAKER. How does it happen that, according to the Surgeon General's report that was put in here, thousands of people come to this country diseased and ought not to be admitted?

Mrs. McCORMICK. I do not know. I can only speak to you about the number that I am familiar with. I know that they must have that examination before they come. One boy was deported on the ship that I went on—that I went over on this summer. By one physician he was said to have trachoma; another physician examined him and said he did not have trachoma, and finally, after nine months, he was deported.

The CHAIRMAN. These people were examined where?

Mrs. McCORMICK. In Constantinople.

The CHAIRMAN. At what place?

Mrs. McCORMICK. It was an American physician. I think it was the Greek Tubercular Hospital where he had his headquarters, but he was an American physician.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, they were examined prior to starting to the United States by United States people, who assumed that authority because that whole country is under a protectorate. Isn't that about it?

Mrs. McCORMICK. Because they do not want them to come over to the United States, knowing that they can not get in.

The CHAIRMAN. But it is possible for the United States, having something to do with the Near East Relief, to set up that kind of a requirement—that kind of an examination?

Mr. VAILE. And it not being necessary to negotiate with any foreign government by way of treaty, possibly, to do that.

Mrs. McCORMICK. Yes. And I know that the American consul would not give the passport—no; I am wrong about that. The passport was given without that, but they would not receive them on board the ship. That was it.

Mr. VAILE. That was an arrangement fixed by the Near East relief for the protection of these people.

Mrs. McCORMICK. I do not know, but I know that was the arrangement, so that I feel that those people who were over here in New York and who came in recently it is impossible that they can have trachoma and tuberculosis and insanity and various other diseases, as has been reported.

Mr. RAKER. Isn't it strange that the Surgeon General and his assistants report that, and they are among the best physicians in the world?

Mrs. McCORMICK. I do not know.

Mr. VAILE. I do not think that applies to those people, Judge.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you in Constantinople at the time irregular Greek ships loaded up with refugees from Constantinople for the United States, regardless of quota?

Mrs. McCORMICK. I was there during the month of October this year.

The CHAIRMAN. That was just prior to Christmas a year ago?

Mrs. McCORMICK. No; during the month of October this year, 1922.

Mr. RAKER. How long were you in Constantinople?

Mrs. McCORMICK. I was in Constantinople about two weeks and a half, and the Near East, and all, about five months.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us have your opinion as to the number of refugees in Constantinople about the time you left.

Mrs. McCORMICK. It was reported that there were 300,000 Greeks there before Mustapha Kemal Pasha ordered them to leave.

The CHAIRMAN. How many refugees are there in other countries?

Mrs. McCORMICK. There were 12,000 orphans, and there were five refugee camps that had just been established for the refugees from Smyrna, and the number fluctuated for the reason that they were coming in every day.

The CHAIRMAN. You say there were 12,000 orphans from Smyrna?

Mrs. McCORMICK. No; 12,000 orphans in all. A great many orphans had been sent there from the interior to Constantinople because it had been considered safe. Then 1,000 came in just the week before I got there from Harput, way up in the interior, up in here [indicating]. They were bound down here to Blerut, and then for safety and convenience were marched up here to Constantinople, nobody believing that the Turks would be allowed to come into Constantinople.

The CHAIRMAN. Now that last set of refugees was what nationality?

Mrs. McCORMICK. Altogether Armenians and Greeks.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any Syrian refugees in there?

Mrs. McCORMICK. There are Assyrian refugees. There were a few Syrians.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say a few, about how many do you mean?

Mrs. McCORMICK. Well, I think the Syrian refugees were put at 1,000, the Syrians down here [indicating on map], the Assyrians from over in here. There were supposed to be about 5,000 Assyrian refugees. They were driven out of here and up into Russia, and finally worked their way either through Russia down this way, most of them down this way [indicating], across the Black Sea, and there was an Assyrian refugee camp there.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any Russian refugees?

Mrs. McCORMICK. Twenty thousand; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a smaller figure than I have here.

Mrs. McCORMICK. It is much smaller than it was, but that is the number that was given when I was there.

The CHAIRMAN. That is much less than the number a year ago.

Mrs. McCORMICK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any Persian refugees?

Mrs. McCORMICK. I think that the Assyrians probably would be claimed as Persian refugees, because you see they came from Persia. This section

in here [indicating on map] is Persia, and they were driven out from there in the year 1918, and marched down here 800 miles.

The CHAIRMAN. They have been marching all over that part of Asia, haven't they?

Mrs. McCORMICK. Yes, anywhere to find a home.

The CHAIRMAN. That gives quite a large number of refugees in Constantinople about the time you left that are not included in the refugees now in Greece at all.

Mrs. McCORMICK. Yes, but I know that a considerable number of those have been taken out, and that many more orphans, refugees also, will be out by the 21st of December.

The CHAIRMAN. Where will they be taken?

Mrs. McCORMICK. They will all be taken down to the hospitable shores of little Greece. And I do not think we can give enough credit to little Greece for the fact that she opens her arms and takes in all of these Armenian children.

The CHAIRMAN. Hers is the principal responsibility, is it not?

Mrs. McCORMICK. She is not responsible for the Armenians any more than we are responsible for the Armenians.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't Greece inaugurate this last warfare?

Mrs. McCORMICK. Absolutely no.

The CHAIRMAN. What have they been holding court-martials for and killing their officials?

Mrs. McCORMICK. They have been killing the officials because they believed those officials were responsible for the death of possibly 700,000 people, and they killed them as you and I would have a court-martial and kill any man whom we believed had committed a crime. I think it was a mistake on the part of the Greek government, nevertheless that was the feeling that they had.

The CHAIRMAN. The mistakes of the Greek Government brought about a great deal of this refugee situation.

Mrs. McCORMICK. I do not think it was a mistake of the Greek Government. France, Italy, England, and Japan, the four great powers, and many others that consummated the Versailles treaty, and by that treaty Greece was given a little parcel of land here, and she was given a mandate over it; it was not to last but five years, and at the end of five years there was to be a plebescite, and it was to be decided then what their government should be. Greece held to her part and the Turks did not, because the Turks by the same treaty were to disarm their forces, and they did not disarm their forces; they kept coming down here and attacking the Greeks, and the Greeks, therefore, had to drive them back, and they were encouraged by England on the north and by France on the south, down here in Cilicia, to come and help protect them, and then at last France made her ignominious secret treaty in April, 1921. It was not discovered until November, 1921, and then when she had done that, then the Greek debacle began, ending in Smyrna, and when I was in Constantinople there was only one country that stood firm, and that was England, and but for England there would have been a massacre when I was in Constantinople.

Mr. RAKER. Why do you say these people were responsible for the destruction of about 850,000 people?

Mrs. McCORMICK. You mean those leaders that were killed—the Greeks?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mrs. McCORMICK. I do not think they were; I say that was the Greek feeling.

Mr. RAKER. What people were those 850,000 that were killed?

Mrs. McCORMICK. Those Greeks killed were—I don't mean that they were all killed; I mean killed and driven from their homes. I did not mean to say they were all killed. I mean killed and made homeless. Of course, that is the approximate number—not the exact number.

Mr. RAKER. Isn't this whole thing sort of a national and racial and religious fight?

Mrs. McCORMICK. The whole thing is war between Moslemism and Christianity. Every Moslem believes—the Turks will tell you that it is not true, but the Koran teaches, and they believe that every Moslem that kills a Christian is entitled to a place in heaven, if he kills two he gets a higher place, and I suppose if he keeps on he gets to the top of heaven and goes right out through the roof, because there would be no place high enough for him.

Mr. RAKER. And they have been working that thoroughly right along?

Mrs. McCORMICK. It has been entirely on account of the disagreement of the Christian nations at the end of the war, on account of our withdrawal into our splendid isolation, so that we had no responsibility at all for anybody else in the world. The Turk was absolutely whipped—a whipped dog. He is a bully and, therefore, a coward, as every bully is, and when the Christian nations began to quarrel among themselves he began to get up, and when at last it was determined that we were not going into the League of Nations but would keep our splendid isolation policy, and when it developed that France and England were pulling away from each other, the Turk got up and said: "I won the war. Death to the Christian." And the Turk to-day is saying that he won the war, and he is encouraged in that by the attitude of the United States, England, France, and all the rest of the world.

Mr. RAKER. Your theory is that as long as the Turk exists with his ideas, with his Koran as his guide, this constant friction of war and fighting will continue?

Mrs. McCORMICK. Will this be made public? Can I make a statement from Admiral Bristol that will not be made public?

Mr. VAILE. Make it off the record, if you wish.

Mrs. McCORMICK. I had better not. I will say what my personal opinion is. My personal opinion is that so long as any Turk rules over anybody else save himself—and he can not rule over himself even—but so long as he rules over anybody else save himself, then so long will he be a nucleus for war.

The CHAIRMAN. We agree with you, and that statement was made to this committee over a year ago. All this thing was brought out here a year ago.

Mrs. McCORMICK. But what has been done?

The CHAIRMAN. At that time the prediction of the massacre was frequently made, and it is now predicted you will have other massacres.

Mr. RAKER. How can this be helped?

Mrs. McCORMICK. It can be helped if the United States will stand with the rest of the world and take its place as a factor in the world.

Mr. RAKER. And send our boys over there to fight with those fellows?

Mrs. McCORMICK. I could go out here and in a week get 10,000 volunteers. Those splendid Greek boys that fought in our Army during the war, and the Armenian boys, would enlist and go over there and fight. And don't forget that from here, from Batoum to Baku, the Armenians held that line for seven months and a half against the Turks, so that Gen. Igna Patra said, "Had it not been for the resistance of the Armenians in the Russian Caucasus we would have had the entire Mohammedan world at our backs and defeat would have been impossible." And the German commander in chief of the entire Turkish Army said, "Had it not been for the Armenians in the Russian Caucasus I would not have been forced to divide my army and leave only one division of my army for General Allenby to fight against." And don't forget that General Allenby had to stay for 24 days in one place fighting that one division, and if he had had two divisions of the Turkish Army to fight he might not have won.

Mr. RAKER. Have you thought about the fact that with the Moslems or the Turks, with our situation over here in the United States, that if we sent our boys in there, no difference what their nationality might have been, American citizens, that we would simply be entering into a religious war that would mean either the extermination of one or the other?

Mrs. McCORMICK. Absolutely not. We have the golden apple of Hesperides and the Turk wants a bite. The American flag is potent to-day over there and American citizens are protected simply because the Turks are afraid that some day we might wake up, we might do something, and the 400 boys that were saved down there in the Armenian orphanage, how were they saved? By the power of two American flags; nothing else in the world but those American flags.

Mr. RAKER. Well, the statement has been made here, Mrs. McCormick, that Americans were not protected in that country; that they killed them, took their property, and killed them.

Mrs. McCORMICK. Up in the interior. You remember that Talat Bey in one of his official messages captured at Aleppo by General Allenby said: "The American consul and others are beginning to doubt the truth of our statements that the deportations are for agricultural purposes; therefore let a show of gentle feeling and courtesy be made toward Christians when they are near cities where there are foreigners, and let the usual measures be carried out in

the usual places." That was one of the "usual places" in the interior where the Turk did not think anything would happen.

Mr. RAKER. Is it your view, now, from a personal inspection, having traveled over that country and having given a great deal of thought to the situation in the Near East, that with the Turk as the disturbing element, situated as we are, the United States, do you think that we could go over there and adjust this matter?

Mrs. McCORMICK. Absolutely we could. But that, of course, is entirely off the question that we are discussing to-day. Now, please remember I am not discussing that question, because that is taking it entirely away from the subject. I simply came to discuss one question which was in the chairman's mind, and what I have been saying now is all my own opinion and must not interfere with the thing that is before you. Personally I believe like Mr. Watson, I should make it stronger if I was doing it myself, but we are talking for the bill now before you.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you read Stoddard's book on "The Revolt of Islam"?

Mrs. McCORMICK. I have only read a small part of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you inclined to agree with it?

Mrs. McCORMICK. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. We are much obliged to you, Mrs. McCormick.

Now, did you want to complete your statement, Mr. Kalaidjian?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. I have not much more to say, except this, gentlemen, that we are not asking you to open the gates; we are only asking that the rights and feelings of American citizens who are here in this country should be considered by the committee and Congress and should be given at least a very small privilege to do what they can do for their blood relations who are now in desperate condition. And one more word, we would like to have whatever action you propose to do done as soon as possible. If the committee will report it to the House, we would like to know if the House is going to do something or not, because it is winter and those people are dying. In fact, some of the refugees that came this month, on December 8, after they had taken the train and were under way one woman who came to see Mrs. Kalaidjian died. I buried her. She was from Greece, and she has a daughter there very sick, and I don't know whether she will survive. There are hardly any of those people but have been to the hospital, and if those people are in that condition when they get over here you can imagine what the conditions of the people must be over there.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, would you agree to have this bill amended so that it would read that those who had taken out their first papers not less than two years ago might bring certain refugee relations?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, I suppose—I would rather have it that if a man has declared his intention—I do not want it so that if a man has not been here more than a year and a half he will be prevented from bringing his mother or sister. If a man is bona fide and going to stay here and make this country his home, I do not see why we should not help him.

The CHAIRMAN. If he had been here a day and a half you would not like to have him have the same privilege? He can get his papers in a day, can't he?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, if he is in a position to say, and to show by other witnesses, that he can take care of the relative that he wants to bring, I do not see why we should put any restrictions, because, as you say, the number is not very many.

Now the question has been asked several times, Mr. Chairman, why is there so much propaganda on the part of the Christian people of America for only 5,000 people? Well, I am going to ask the question why is the committee raising so much question if it is only 5,000. That will only be a drop in the bucket to this country. It is not going to hurt anybody. I think we can stand 5,000 more Armenians and Greeks.

The CHAIRMAN. I am trying to find out if it is only 5,000, and I can't find anyone that will say that the Armenians and Greeks combined would be only 5,000.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, as far as I can see—

Mr. WHITE (Interposing). They can not say that.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Nobody can say any definite number.

Mr. WHITE. In my bill I do not say that. We did not know how many English we would admit; we did not know how many Germans we would admit. We all missed our guess. We can not know about those things.

The CHAIRMAN. You could state the maximum. Would you be willing to have a maximum figure placed in this bill of 30,000?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, I would not for this purpose, that every man or American citizen, his relatives are as dear to him as yours and mine are to us, and by putting any limit—I would hate to leave out anyone just now because they happen to be the unlucky number. They are just as human as we are and I would hate to place any limitation in number. Not that I think there will be over 30,000, but I do not want to have any limitation that will deprive any single individual from coming.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you say you have been in the United States?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Twenty years.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get any of your relatives in?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, I have got a sister and a brother in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have they been here?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. My brother came only about a year ago. My sister came before the war, I am glad to say.

The CHAIRMAN. How many relatives are you calculating on bringing in?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. I have only one brother and sister in this country, and my brother's son, my nephew. That is all the relatives I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you connected with any of these committees on immigration policy?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. No; I am not a member of them. I am a member of the Y. M. C. A. staff. I am not a regular member of the immigration policy committee, except that I have made a study of the Armenian immigration to this country. Of course, I do not think the committee—I did not understand the committee was blaming me for knowing these figures, because they are public property. I think every man ought to know something about the conditions of immigration. Of course, naturally, I have made a study for the interchurch world movement.

Mr. RAKER. Nobody is blaming you, only the fact is that for the last 12 years every effort has been made to get a registration of the people that come to this country, or those that are here that are not citizens, and we always find organizations preparing to defeat such legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you this: Would you favor a registration law for aliens in the United States at a low fee, if that fee was in lieu of other naturalization fees?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, I think that there is no harm in that. I would not oppose any such movement, because my position is that if I had a part in making laws I would not admit anyone to the United States who is not coming bona fide to become a citizen and make this country his home. And another thing, that whatever I charge to the immigrant or alien, that money I would use for the work of Americanization. I see from your report that over \$11,000,000 has been taken from the immigrants, but very little of that money has been spent for Americanization.

Mr. RAKER. Have you observed how much has been expended to take care of these same aliens?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, I notice our chairman says that 7 per cent of the money received has gone to the support of these dependent aliens in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. Seven per cent of all the money raised from State taxation in all the States.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. But I would say this, that our immigrant population, aliens, are about 33 per cent, so that perhaps 7 per cent is not so much when you compare that with the number of people here.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not mean the immigrant population naturalized; I mean the unnaturalized alien in the country.

Mr. RAKER. May I ask the source of your information?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; the printed copies of the committee's hearings on that subject will be ready soon. The figures are based on the census of penitentiaries and eleemosynary institutions of the State.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. That may be a liability against the aliens, but we must consider the assets; what they have contributed.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you favor restriction of immigration?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, I believe in selective immigration.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by "selective immigration"?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. That we should bring here all those who are fit physically and mentally to make good American citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. From any and all countries?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Yes, sir. I do not think, so far as the new immigration and old immigration is concerned, that so much distinction is made. I do not think there is much difference. At some time in the history of every race that race has shown superior qualities, like Greece in olden times; Rome in olden times. Nations, like individuals, come up and go down. To-day America is at the height of its glory, but who knows where we will be 100 years from now?

Mr. VAILE. That is just what we want to prevent.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. I am just as jealous as anyone of this country and its success.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you given any study to what sent the nations of Greece and Rome down?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, yes; it was indulgence more than anything else—decay, demoralization. I think that the idea that mixed races make weaklings of people is not true, because our country is an example of that.

Another thing I might say of the Turks. A few minutes ago you were asking the Greek professor about them. They are the most mixed people in the world. They used to be Tartars, Turcomans; to-day they are almost like Caucasians because they have intermingled so. They have taken so many of the Armenian and Greek and other Caucasian people, and have taken their bodies into their national life, that they have been changed altogether.

Mr. RAKER. That is what I asked you awhile ago—if that occurred, and I was told it did not. Now, as a matter of fact, there is a very large amount of intermarriage.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. As a matter of fact, Mustapha Kemal Pasha is a Spanish Jew from Saloniki, who has become a Mohammedan. His father was a Jew, a Jewish convert. Kemal Pasha is a Mohammedan now, but so far as his blood is concerned he is a Spanish Jew. He has blue eyes and light hair. There is nothing Turkish about him, and you can say that about many of them. Some of the worst Turks are second-generation Christians. That is a fact. Some of the worst Turks are second-generation Christians who have forgotten about their past.

Mr. RAKER. Then, as a matter of fact, Doctor, it is not a national question so far as the racial question—so far as the Turk is concerned? He is mixed up with everything from the wild man to the Negro. Isn't that right?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Yes; every mixture. You see, Mohammedanism is a very democratic religion. Whenever a man becomes a Mohammedan he marries any race without distinction, so it is a very mixed race.

The CHAIRMAN. The same thing is permissible in the United States, is it not?

Mr. RAKER. It is not in California.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Now, the whole thing is this: The common Turkish people are so ignorant and so fanatical that when the leaders rule that they must wipe out the Christians, which is the opposition to their government, that is a political business. This is not a purely religious fight; the Turks say: "Now we want one race—the Turks, no Christians—so that the European powers will not interfere with our internal affairs."

Mr. RAKER. May I put it this way: The Turks are an intermixture. The first race was—what did you call it?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Tartars.

Mr. RAKER. Now that includes the Russians, it includes the Jews, it includes the Armenians, it includes the Negro—in fact, all of them, doesn't it?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, there is some blood of all, at one time or another. The Arabs have mixed with them, the Saracen Turks, the Yuryuks, and Ottoman Turks, and they have mixed with Tartars and Greeks. You see when they invaded Asia Minor in those days they killed a man and took all the women and the little boys and girls and brought them up as Mohammedans, just as they intended to do this time.

Mr. RAKER. And they are good strong Mohammedans now? Once a man is a Mohammedan he is a good one?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, usually there is only one kind of Mohammedan. His religion rules him.

Mr. RAKER. That is what I meant. He believes strongly in that particular doctrine.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. I have one of the official prayers, Mohammedan prayers here. Shall I read it?

Mr. RAKER. Yes; it may do some of my colleagues here some good to read it. Mr. KALAIDJIAN. This is an official prayer of Islam, which is used throughout Turkey daily:

"I seek refuge with Allah from Satan the rejeem (the accursed). In the name of Allah the compassionate, the merciful! O Lord of all creatures! O Allah! Destroy the infidels and poly-heists, Thine enemies, the enemies of the religion! O Allah! make their children orphans, and defile their abodes, and cause their feet to slip; and give them and their families and their households, and their women, and their children, and their relatives by marriage, and their brothers, and their friends, and their possessions, and their race, and their wealth, and their lands, as booty to the Moslems, O Lord of all creatures!"

That is just exactly what they are practicing, you see. That is their religion.

Mr. RAKER. Well, as I asked one of the other gentlemen, it is a fight to the death, and in this country as long as there is that division between the Christian and the Turk, the Moslem, who believes in the Koran, there will be that cleavage and that fight for territory.

Mr. VAILE. And there will always be refugees.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. No; this will be the last one. I think I may say that now the Turks will clean up the whole country and there will be no Christians left, so there will be no more massacres.

Mr. VAILE. Mrs. McCormick stated that as long as the Turk was in control there would be these clashes.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. There will be nobody else to control. They have cleaned up the whole country now. The last of the Armenians, 130,000 of them, are being driven out, so that if they carry on their plans, there will be no other race there, no Christian race under Turkey. They will be all Mohammedans.

Mr. WHITE. What do you know about Constantinople?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Of course, I don't know what they are doing in Constantinople during the discussion at Lausanne.

Mr. RAKER. You made a statement that may be very widely published. What is your authority for the nativity and racial character of the present ruler of the Turks?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Well, I have an article written by a Turk in this country and in that article he says that Mustapha Kemal is of Jewish origin; that he is from Saloniki, and there are a good many Mohammedans in Saloniki, like Kemal Pasha and others, who have been very prominent in the young Turk movement. Mostly they are what they call "durnemat"—that is, converted. They were converted years ago, but nevertheless, like the Armenians, they are of other blood but they have been converted and become Mohammedans. So after they become Mohammedans in Turkey nationality is not based on race, it is religion. If I decided to become a Mohammedan to-day they would call me a Turk. They would say, "Mr. Kalaidjian has become a Turk." They do not say, "He became a Mohammedan," but that I became a Turk, instead of "Mr. Kalaidjian has become a Mohammedan," or "Mr. Kalaidjian has become a Moslem."

Mr. RAKER. There might be some in this country that do not have to go there to become Turks.

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. And I might say that most of these prominent Turks, the leaders, foreign ministers, and generals, if you will investigate, are of Christian origin. The Turks themselves are bankrupt. In fact, the German doctors who went there said that the Turk is fast disappearing as a race, because of his racial impurity and because of their unclean living and ignorance of sanitary conditions. They are passing away except they have been recruiting from the Christians.

Mr. RAKER. Then, these leaders that have been conducting this warfare, that have been perpetrating these massacres, are converted Christians who have been converted to the Moslem faith?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Or of Christian descent.

Mr. RAKER. They are the ones that have been creating this trouble?

Mr. KALAIDJIAN. Because they are Mohammedan and they have become Turks. Everybody knows that Mustapha Kemal Pasha is of Jewish origin.

The CHAIRMAN. If there are no more witnesses, I think we can adjourn now.

(Mr. Kalaidjian submitted the following papers:)

ARMENIAN FAMILIES WHO HAVE NEAR RELATIVES IN THIS COUNTRY—SMYRNA CASES.

1. Mr. Aved Ergat, age 29, address 4029 Broadway, New York City; American citizen; ex-service man; father, Rev. Ashod Ergat, of Caesaria, minister of Armenian Church, killed brutally in the massacres of 1915. The rest of the family, mother, Mrs. Isgouhie, and youngest sister, aged 14, were sent to exile in Syria; also two married sisters, Mr. and Mrs. Arslanian, and Mr. and Mrs. Sashghouljan. The husband of the second sister was killed on the way. The Arslanian family returned to Cecilia after the armistice as the safest spot for Armenians under French protection. Mother and youngest daughter came to America to join the son. In the evacuation of Cecilia of October, 1921, the Arslanian family fled to Smyrna. Husband died on the way from exposure. Then the Smyrna disaster. Sister and three children, also other sister, both widows, are now waiting in Constantinople to join their brother here.

2. Dr. and Mrs. Houseplan, address 124 East Twenty-fourth Street, New York City; American citizens. Mrs. Houseplan is a native of Ismid, Asia Minor. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Kirkor Ashjian and four sons, Onnig, Stepan, Keghan, Artaki. Deported to the interior of Asia Minor in the deportations of 1915. One son, Artaki, was an officer in the Turkish Army. They returned to Smyrna after the armistice. During the Smyrna disaster the father was killed just as he was stepping into one of the boats carrying refugees. The two older brothers have been taken captives by the Nationalists. One brother is a student in Germany, and the fourth is studying art in this country. The mother has been taken all alone to the island of Mytilene with the rest of the refugees. She has no one on the other side. Her daughter and son-in-law are most anxious to have her join them in this country.

3. Mr. Mugrditch Topalian, bookkeeper; address, Palais des Beaux Arts, New York City; American citizen, 12 years in this country; native of Smyrna; father, Takvor Topalian, prosperous merchant in Smyrna; mother, Mrs. Nouriza Topalian, was in this country with her son for five years; returned to Smyrna to bring the family over. Now their home has been burned, the shops looted, father killed, mother and three daughters, Shahnaz, S'ranoush (graduate of the American College in Smyrna) and the youngest daughter, Zurvert, under 16 years of age, are now refugees in Athens waiting to join their son in the United States.

4. Paul Papazian, 10 years in this country, American citizen, ex-service man; address, 510 West Seventy-sixth Street, New York City; mother, Marian Papazian, sister Artemian, and brother Aram, all in this country. Her home has been burned in Smyrna; father is the only one on the other side; is now refugee in Athens; would like to join his family in this country.

5. Sarkis Sarafian, American citizen; address, 283 Audubon Avenue, New York City. Just returned from Smyrna, representative of an automobile supply company; was in Smyrna during the disaster. Escaped on the U. S. destroyer *Simpson*. Father and mother killed on September 11. Sister with three daughters (Sirapi, 15 years old; Shake, 2; Alice, 11). Four brothers in this country, two of them American citizens, one of them ex-service man; have been 10 years in New York City.

6. Mr. Hagop Tomassian, 52 Grant Avenue, Staten Island. American citizen, business man, established 11 years. Parents, 3 sisters, and brother (whole family) is with him; has a sister, Mrs. Rosa Bedrossian and four children, refugees at Skopelos Island, Greece. Her husband, Nisak Bedrossian, missing; ages, Rosa Bedrossian, 30; children between 3 and 9 years.

7. Rev. Kattoos Manigulan, farmer, R. F. D. No. 1, Belle Mead, N. J.; brother Hapet Manigulan taken captive by the Turks; the wife, Mrs. Arshalois Manigulan, and four children—Ashken 16, Egul 13, Alice 11, Garabed 6, are refugees in Patras. Address Mrs. Arshalois Manigulan, Rue Yerocostopoulo No 3, Patras, Greece.

8. Takvor Hagopian, 90 Lexington Avenue, New York City; American citizen; was in Smyrna during the fire; rescued on U. S. destroyer *Simpson*. His brother, Stepan Hagopian, American citizen; another brother, Armonag Hagopian; sister, Annagn Hagopian; and married sister, Haghanous Yeranlian, and three children are refugees in Smyrna waiting to come to the United States.

9. Hrant Tashjian, 134 East Twenty-seventh Street, New York City; American citizen, ex-service man; the father killed in the Smyrna disaster; the mother,

Elizabeth Tashjian, the sister, Igoulie Tashjian, are in Athens. The brother, Onnig Tashjian, and his wife are in Marseille—all refugees waiting to come to the United States.

10. Takvor Hachadourian, citizen, ex-service man, 90 Lexington Avenue; was in Smyrna during the fire, was rescued on destroyer *Simpson*. Came to New York on the steamship *Constantinople* on December 8. His parents, Rev. Kapriel Hachadourian, mother Flor Hachadourian, sister Marie Hachadourian, are all refugees in Athens waiting to come to United States.

11. Arshag Avakian, 128 East Twenty-seventh Street, New York City; American citizen; ex-service man; father killed during Smyrna disaster. The mother Serpouhie Avakian, the uncle Yogia Avakian, are refugees in Salonica waiting to come to United States.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Cotton has some evidence that he wants to put into the record. I will ask that it be admitted. He will give his name to the reporter.

STATEMENT OF THOMAS L. COTTON, 215 WEST TWENTY-THIRD STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business, Mr. Cotton?

Mr. COTTON. Y. M. C. A. secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been in the Y. M. C. A.?

Mr. COTTON. Five years.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been in the Near East?

Mr. COTTON. I have been in Russia and the Scandinavian countries mostly. I never got into the Near East, but I have very close connection with the Near East through my work, which is with Greeks, Armenians, Russians, and Italians.

The CHAIRMAN. In the United States?

Mr. COTTON. Here in New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you favor restrictive immigration?

Mr. COTTON. I favor immigration selected.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by "selected"?

Mr. COTTON. I mean selected on the other side, the only way it can be worked out.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think it can be worked out?

Mr. COTTON. I trust to the brains of our statesmen to get it worked out.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it be done by treaty or would it be done by law in the United States?

Mr. COTTON. I think it would have to be done by treaty.

Mr. RAKER. You would have some men selected at a point out here, 10 or 15 people, and they would pick the ones they wanted to come to this country?

Mr. VAILE. No; the people would have to pass certain tests.

Mr. RAKER. Now, I want to know the gentleman's viewpoint. He knows what he means by "selection"; what is it?

Mr. COTTON. I mean this, gentlemen, that there would be an attaché, a consul, or some man designated in each place where we have a consul, to look after this matter; that he would find the people in that neighborhood or in that locality that want to come to America, pick out the best ones, and let them come to America.

The CHAIRMAN. You understand the other countries are objecting now to the fact that we are asking the consular offices for a little bit more than was agreed upon when these consular offices were set up? You realize that?

Mr. COTTON. Yes, sir. I wish to submit the following resolution:

"RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION OF Y. M. C. A'S., AT ATLANTIC CITY, NOVEMBER 14-19, 1922.

"Be it resolved, That this convention express its profound sympathy for the persecuted Christian minorities in the Near East; that we commend the great work of the Near East Relief; and that as citizens of the United States and Canada we request our respective Governments to use all reasonable and

righteous means not only for succor and assistance but for the prevention of a recurrence or extension of the present terrible conditions."

This represents the attitude of 800,000 members of the Y. M. C. A.

Mr. Corron. I arise in the midst of all this recitation of the moving scenes in the Smyrna catastrophe to bring your minds back and rivet them with renewed attention on the bill which the honorable Congressman from Kansas, Mr. White, has introduced into this committee. This act—

1. Defines "relative" so as to cover (a) immediate family circle and (b) blood relations only for uncle, aunt, orphan, nephew, or niece.

2. Defines "refugee" so as to make it impossible for any person not a bona fide refugee from Turkish territory and Turkish aggression to be benefited under this act.

3. Places responsibility upon persons now living in the United States of America. A citizen or declarant for citizenship may petition for the right to bring over relatives who are refugees as stipulated.

4. Such petitions are safeguarded by certain requirements and regulations defined in detail.

5. The locating of and verification of such refugee relatives as are petitioned for is arranged for by (a) cooperation of consular representatives in the Near East, (b) cooperation of agents specially designated to do so, and (c) officially recognized American relief organizations.

6. Admits such refugees petitioned for under this requirement without disturbing the quota regulations for those nationalities.

7. Does not interfere with the operation of quota regulations over all other persons.

8. Does not modify in any respect the operation of the regular immigration law of 1917.

9. Is clearly, as its name implies, an act for Near East refugees only.

This act has nothing to do with the debate on restrictive immigration; not over 5,000 or 10,000 will come. It is an emergency act designed solely to bring some measure of relief to the misery in the Near East and to permit families to be united and thus to take care of their own. The passage of this bill will have no influence whatsoever upon the controversy now raging over the whole great immigration problem, because—

(a) It is not an attack on labor, for largely women and children are coming.

(b) It is not letting in vast unassimilable masses—not over 10,000.

(c) It is not a precedent, because the situation is without parallel.

(d) Those let in will not become public charges.

(e) It is not contrary to "favored-nations" clause in our treaties, because refugees of any citizenship may come in from stipulated territory.

I hail from Wyoming, and perhaps you wonder why I am interested in this bill.

Well, first, because of the very nature of my work. I am in charge of the department for work with foreign-born men at Twenty-third Street Y. M. C. A. in New York City. I have associated with me seven men and women who are foreign born. Since the Smyrna disaster we have had a veritable stream of people through our office seeking to know the fate of their relatives who were in Smyrna. Do you suppose that I could go to my office day by day to hear such tales as have been told here this morning and return to my own healthy, happy child in his cozy corner and not feel guilty if I didn't do something?

But after all, it is not a matter of logic, it is a matter of humanity.

Have any one of you had a home and lost it? Have you known the sound of a voice or the touch of a hand that is gone?

Have you known the love of little children? Can you imagine yourself torn from them and the uncertainty of their subsequent existence without you?

Is there one here who has not known the comforts of a home and the tenderness of a woman?

Thank God, I have a home dear as life to me and a heart which drives me to plead for mercy for the less fortunate. To give my last ounce of energy for the passage of this bill is the least price I can pay at this joyous Christmas time for my home and comfort. Gentlemen, can you do less?

Mr. WHITE. I would like to have you hear Mrs. Bremer, of New York.

**STATEMENT OF MRS. MARY M. BREMER, NATIONAL BOARD,
Y. W. C. A., NEW YORK CITY.**

Mrs. BREMER. I am the head of the national department for work with foreign-born women.

The CHAIRMAN. That location is down among them. Is it?

Mrs. BREMER. Very much among them. I have been doing that Americanization work for 12 years. I would like to submit a written statement before the time is gone.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you, is that a pretty good American community down there around Lexington Avenue, New York?

Mrs. BREMER. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any part of it that is not so good?

Mrs. BREMER. My work is national work. I have work in many cities.

The CHAIRMAN. But your headquarters are in New York City?

Mrs. BREMER. The national office is in New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. In what cities do you work?

Mrs. BREMER. In about 200 cities of the United States—all the larger cities.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you travel and visit them?

Mrs. BREMER. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. What cities have the largest alien population?

Mrs. BREMER. The 10 largest cities in the country have the largest alien population.

Mr. RAKER. What did you say your work was?

Mrs. BREMER. I am the director of the national department for work with foreign-born women, for the National Young Woman's Christian Association.

The CHAIRMAN. You said something about Americanization.

Mrs. BREMER. I said that is what it is. I have given you the label because I thought you would want it for the record. My work is Americanization work. I am the director.

Mr. RAKER. How many directors are there working with you? You say you are a director of this organization.

Mrs. BREMER. I say I am the director of the national department. I am the executive director of the department, the head of it.

The CHAIRMAN. You work among all races of foreign people?

Mrs. BREMER. Yes; among about 33 different nationalities that are found in family groups in this country.

Mr. RAKER. May I ask you this question: How many foreign-born women have you in your organization—that is, as the directors of the organization? Do you know? Are there any?

Mrs. BREMER. There are none. The National Young Women's Christian Association is very much of an old and established American organization.

The CHAIRMAN. It has no antipathy to naturalized American women, has it?

Mr. BREMER. Certainly it has not. We have many friends among them. Mr. Raker asked me how many we had in our directorate, and I said none.

Mr. RAKER. Why not? I am just asking for information now.

Mrs. BREMER. I can not tell you why not. They just did not happen to come along. There is no objection to them. I am simply stating the fact that the membership of the national board are all American-born women.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, is it possible that there are in other organizations these naturalized American women?

Mrs. BREMER. Probably; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed with your statement.

Mrs. BREMER. This bill that Mr. White has introduced, I believe, should be passed as an emergency measure, because it is conservative; it is designed to bring relief in a small measure, but a measure that will count, relief to human misery and it conserves this idea, that the United States flag extends to its citizens the privileges of looking after their own. The measure which Mr. White has introduced would permit the admission of persons who could come in anyway under the regulations and the immigration law, and under the quota, were this July instead of December.

They might wait until July to come in, were it not for the extraordinary circumstances which have been described to you at great length to-day. It is extraordinary to the extent that those who would be benefitted under this bill are men and women that can not stay there and live. That is why those who

have studied this matter believe that this bill that Mr. White has introduced should be passed, and passed now, and that it will not upset the country, nor, in any sense, modify the immigration law, and its desirable quota. It simply extends to these people now, who, under the restrictive legislation, can not come in, the privilege of coming in now, people that could qualify if it were not for the quota law.

Mr. VAILE. Just a minute. Let me ask you a question there. You say that it will not seriously affect the country.

The CHAIRMAN. Could we not do that same thing, carry out that idea by a resolution that would permit these people to come in now that will be eligible to come in next July?

Mrs. BREMER. Yes; I qualified it by stating that under the present law they would be permitted to come in next July.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it not save some of these people if we would pass a resolution, in lieu of this bill, to the effect that the quota which might be used next July might be used in December instead?

Mr. VAILE. In advance?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mrs. BREMER. If you were not dealing with the Turk, Mr. Chairman, that resolution might solve this dilemma, but you are dealing with the Turk.

The CHAIRMAN. It would permit their quota to come in in January instead of July.

Mrs. BREMER. The difficulty with this situation is that you are dealing with the Turk, and the Turks have driven out such large numbers of people that the next year's quota of 2,000 would only partially alleviate the conditions.

The CHAIRMAN. No; we can pass this resolution with the idea that that number might be relieved, which you state numbers 2,000 or 3,000, by authorizing the use of their quota for next year ahead of time, immediately, as a necessity.

Now then, that would take care of that number, and the others might be given immediate relief through the Near East Relief Association, and we might hope that within a very short time the situation will right itself somewhat in Asia Minor countries, so that the necessity for bringing the others in will not exist.

Mrs. BREMER. Are you asking me a question?

The CHAIRMAN. I am just suggesting that as a possible way.

Mrs. BREMER. I believe that your hope there is futile, that it is impossible, and it has been proven that it is, again and again, that the situation will change for the better, so that these people will be permitted to return to their homes, and they will have to go to other countries. They are permanent exiles, with no place to go, and no hope of them being taken back. The problem before the world is what to do with them, not merely to give them temporary aid, such as the Red Cross, or the Near East Relief Association, and the generous impulses of other countries can give them, or little Greece can take care of them in a temporary refugee camp, that will merely keep soul and body together; but the permanent solution of this difficulty is a victorious army that will drive back the Turk and so defeat him that the people will be permitted to return to their homes and may return to their homes.

I believe that Mr. White's bill is a sane, sensible, logical measure, because it permits the United States to let its citizens do some small share, which is humanely, and naturally, and the right thing to do.

Mr. RAKER. You are in favor of that?

Mrs. BREMER. I am here speaking for this bill; I am in favor of the passage of this bill, because I do not see any army to beat the Turks.

Mr. RAKER. Are these conditions to be permanent?

Mrs. BREMER. I say that the Turks have driven them out in such large numbers—

Mr. RAKER (interposing). I understood you to say that the refugees that are now being driven out, that they are being driven out permanently, those that have already been driven out.

Mrs. BREMER. I said they were permanent until some victorious army beat the Turks and beat them back, and permitted these people to return to their homes. I do not see any prospects of any such a victorious army.

Mr. RAKER. Then, that being the case, according to your presentation of this matter, you believe that the refugees now being driven out are being driven out of that territory permanently?

Mrs. BREMER. I do.

Mr. RAKER. Therefore, the special legislation that you are now appealing for, you think, will relieve about how many?

Mrs. BREMER. Well, I do not know.

Mr. RAKER. What is your estimate?

Mrs. BREMER. I am no authority. I am merely taking the estimates that have been given, somewhere between 5,000 and 6,000.

Mr. RAKER. How about the million and a half that have been driven out? They are not going to get back, according to your statement. That is right, is it not?

Mrs. BREMER. If those are authentic figures.

Mr. RAKER. Yes; I say, assuming that those are correct figures, now what are you going to do with these other million and four hundred and some odd thousand?

The CHAIRMAN. We have been all over that a great many times.

Mr. RAKER. Well, I want to know what the witness thinks.

Mrs. BREMER. It is a tremendously serious problem. I believe that every country that has a civilized population as America has should take some share in it. It is a question, of course, as to what share—and I want to congratulate Mr. White on his courage in introducing this bill, which does make possible, at least, a small share on the part of the American people, and I want to say that this bill should be passed immediately, and that there is necessity for us to hurry up in this matter.

Mr. WHITE. Mrs. Bremer will be given an opportunity to insert her statement?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly. You believe in the restrictive law yourself?

Mrs. BREMER. I believe that each country has the right to protect itself, and I believe that the present legislation, the immigration law, is the best law that this country has had, and I know from experience that it is being administered in a better way, and I know that the country was never so secure as it is to-day.

Mr. VAIZ. Mrs. Bremer, you have touched one point right there that is one of the most serious things that comes before this committee. You say that every country has a right to protect itself. Do you not think that it is the duty of the United States to protect itself?

Mrs. BREMER. Yes.

Mr. VAIZ. In other words, there is only the question of deciding what is protection. Now, we men here on this committee feel that we are charged with that duty. If we can find a way to help some one and still protect the interests of the United States, I am sure that we are willing to do it, and we are ready for you to convince us, and I do not say that I am not convinced—I am merely putting the proposition. If we can be convinced that we will still be protected by doing what you are asking, that will be one thing, but if the country is not protected, no appeal to our sympathy should swerve us in our duty, should it?

Mrs. BREMER. No. I believe that Mr. White's bill is a proper measure, because I believe that it does absolutely protect the United States, and that it does not open up in any way the whole question, which the country is not united on, and which this committee, apparently, being representative of the whole country, is not united on, is this whole question of immigration legislation.

The reason that I believe in this bill and the reason that I know the intelligent citizens of this country believe in it is because they know, when they study the bill that it in no way interferes with the citizens, in no way changes the status quo, and I believe that the intelligent people think that this bill is all right.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you heard in New York about a demand for more cheap labor?

Mrs. BREMER. I have read it in the newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether there is such a demand or not?

Mrs. BREMER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know whether there is any such a demand or not?

Mrs. BREMER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know whether there is any demand for cheap alien labor or not?

Mrs. BREMER. I do not. All I know about that, Mr. Chairman, is what I have read in the newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not sufficiently acquainted with the methods of legislative procedure to be afraid that a measure seeking relief for these refugees may have a "cheap labor" provision added to it.

Mrs. BREMER. I should have confidence enough in this committee to believe that they could protect themselves from any such a measure. They seem to be able to protect the country under the quota law.

Mr. RAKER. They will bring that up.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that some people want cheap labor, and that they will be the next to be heard from.

Mrs. BREMER. Personally I believe that this bill should be passed immediately, not next week or next month, and that whatever issues face this committee on the question of cheap labor can be debated on its merits, and that the passage of this bill will have absolutely no effect upon it.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not want to let the demand for cheap alien labor come up on this bill?

Mrs. BREMER. I absolutely do not. If I may give my personal reasons as to why I believe in this bill, I would say that I have made a painstaking study of its provisions and because I believe that it is a refugee measure; because I believe it is conservative, and because I believe that it extends to our citizens certain rights, and I believe that this bill will save those citizens certain rights, and I believe that it will save the lives of thousands of people, and I believe that it should go through because of those facts.

Mr. VAILE. Do you believe that the United States should have a policy or assume the burden of being an asylum for political or religious refugees?

Mrs. BREMER. Frankly, I will tell you that I have studied the history of the immigration legislation of this country, and that I have believed and have been proud of the fact that that has been the traditional attitude of this country.

Mr. VAILE. Is that still your belief?

Mrs. BREMER. Conditions have been changing. I am open-minded student enough and take the student's attitude, and will say that were such a measure before Congress I should be unable to tell my representative what I thought until I had looked into it further.

Mr. RAKER. Let me ask you a question: Is it because of the relief for these refugees now that you are so strong for this measure?

Mrs. BREMER. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. Well, now, could not relief be had by sending them aid abroad?

Mrs. BREMER. That could be done, Mr. Raker, and is being done, but I want to say that if my sister were over there, I should resent like everything if I had to go down into my pocket to hand money over to an organization to go over there to feed my sister, when, if she were in this country, I could take care of her and help her, and she could get a job and take care of herself; whereas the way it is now, in 10 years from now she might be beyond any help.

Mr. WHITE. You are in favor of this as emergency legislation, in favor of us doing what we have been doing under our Constitution for 128 or 130 years, all of the time bringing in relatives of American citizens?

Mrs. BREMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. And that is what all races that make up the American population have been doing constantly?

Mrs. BREMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Do you know how many of these people have been here for a great many years, and have had no relatives come to this country.

Mrs. BREMER. I do not know. The census figures do not show that.

(Thereupon, at 6.30 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned to meet at the call of the chairman.)